

A Struggle for Cherokee Community: Excavating Identity in Post-Removal North Carolina

Lance Greene

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Anthropology.

Chapel Hill
2009

Approved by:

Chair: Vin Steponaitis

Advisor: Brett Riggs

Reader: Silvia Tomaskova

Reader: Valerie Lambert

Reader: John Finger

©2009
Lance Greene
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

ABSTRACT

LANCE GREENE: A Struggle for Cherokee Community: Excavating Identity in Post-Removal North Carolina
(Under the direction of Vin Steponaitis and Brett Riggs)

The Cherokee Removal of 1838 was intended to remove all members of the Cherokee Nation to west of the Mississippi River. However, a small number avoided forced emigration. After the soldiers had left the region, many of these Cherokees sustained traditional practices in spite of increasing social and codified racism. The undefined status of the Cherokees in North Carolina at this time left them socially and economically marginalized. However, they also found ways to use this liminal space to their benefit. My research uses a combination of archaeological, documentary, and landscape data to investigate how one Cherokee family negotiated this new social terrain. The Welch family embraced alternative concepts of race, ethnicity, and gender to help maintain a traditional Cherokee community called Welch's Town in southwestern North Carolina. They adopted certain aspects of western culture, while maintaining some traditional Cherokee practices. Through this hybridity, they managed to maintain their farm and also their connections to and support of the Cherokee community on their land.

To A.V.G.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

At the outset, I would like to thank Brett Riggs. I have worked with Brett for almost twenty years, in a multitude of field and lab settings. Brett introduced me to historic Cherokee archaeology during a lengthy field survey that sometimes tested our physical endurance. Nonetheless, I was fascinated by the archaeology. This was due in part to Brett impressing upon me the significance of the research for contemporary Cherokees, and his devotion to sharing it with them. Brett has continued to share with me his encyclopedic knowledge of Cherokee history and archaeology, his insights into Cherokee society (both past and present), and his views on the use and meaning of archaeological data.

I consider it a privilege to have worked and studied in the Anthropology Department and the Research Laboratories of Archaeology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. I found there a rich and supportive community of faculty and students, and I and my wonderful cohort thrived in the collegial environment. My scholarship benefited greatly from my time there. In particular, Silvia Tomaskova not only altered my views of material culture research but opened a new space in which I could ask more interesting questions using archaeology. Vin Steponaitis taught me the significance and appropriate uses of quantitative methods, in addition to being a supportive instructor and dissertation chair. I have also been lucky that one in my cohort, Mark Plane, was also focusing on historic American Indian research. Mark and I spent many hours discussing archaeology, material culture, Indian identity, as well as a variety of other academic and not-so-academic topics. My research has improved dramatically because of Mark's input, and it would be difficult to find more interesting conversation.

Fieldwork at the Welch site was performed by a group of well-trained archaeologists who, luckily for me, were also good friends. Scott Shumate, Bill Jurgelski, Mark Plane, Eric Hoover, Jon

Marcoux, and Greg Wilson all performed admirably and dealt patiently with bad weather, bad housing, and bad food. Bill Jurgelski and I met on a site in Hawaii more than 20 years ago. After many years of working in different regions, we reconnected and found that we were researching the same topics. I have known Scott Shumate for almost as long, and have had the pleasure of working with him many times across North Carolina. Few people have had such an impact on me regarding field archaeology and material culture of Southern Appalachia. Jim and Jeanette Wilson and Burke West have been extremely patient and cooperative during several years of fieldwork on their land. Burke has often shifted his farming schedule so that the site could be backfilled, or mowed, or cow-free. Their interest in the site and in the history of the area has made working with them very enjoyable.

Numerous institutions provided generous grants to fund my fieldwork, which otherwise would have been impossible: the Wenner-Gren Foundation Fieldwork Grant, the North Carolina Archaeological Society Grant-in-Aid Program, the University of North Carolina Center for the Study of the American South Summer Research Grant, and the University of North Carolina Research Laboratories of Archaeology Timothy P. Mooney Fellowship. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Rodney Snedeker of the US Forest Service. Rodney organized research assistantships for me that funded a large part of my tenure at UNC, and allowed me to work on removal-era sites at the same time.

The entire faunal assemblage was analyzed by Tom Whyte at Appalachian State University. Tom has studied numerous faunal collections from historic sites in the region, and provided me with much insight into how the animals represented by the faunal material might have been collected, processed, and consumed. Rob Cuthrell analyzed a sample of the floral remains for his Honor's thesis at the University of North Carolina, under the direction of Margie Scarry. His thorough analysis has been a vital component of my research.

I owe a debt to many people who work in the cultural resource offices of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. I would particularly like to thank TJ Holland, director of the Junaluska Museum.

For years, he has supported my work, provided funding, and brought me along on trips to the National Archives. More than that, he has shared his knowledge of local Cherokee history, and has been a great host on numerous occasions at his home in Robbinsville. Our conversations have educated me on Cherokee life, as well as on fine art and other subjects.

Finally, I would like to thank Noeleen and Tess. Noeleen has been supportive during this entire process, and has always been willing to discuss archaeological method and theory and read through whatever I might be working on. Tess always entertains me, and keeps me from getting too obsessed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
Study Area and Its Natural Environment	6
Race and Ethnicity	7
Documentary records	16
Regional archaeological research	17
CHAPTER 2: THEORY	21
Modernity	22
Liminality	24
Localism	26
Clientelism	28
Material Culture	30
CHAPTER 3: WELCH SITE ARCHAEOLOGY	33
CHAPTER 4: HISTORICAL SETTING	42
CHAPTER 5: "THE DARKEST PART OF THE NATION": MODERNIZATION ON VALLEY RIVER (1835-1838)	48
Modernization	50
The Welch Family During Removal	63
Conclusions	68

CHAPTER 6: "CONFESSEDLY A CHEROKEE AND ALIEN BY BIRTH": A LIMINAL SPACE ON VALLEY RIVER (1838-1839)	71
Defining the Liminal Space: The Impact of Modernization	74
Origins of Welch's Town	77
The Welch Farm.....	80
An Archaeology of Welch Family Identity.....	82
Archaeological Data.....	83
Conclusions.....	102
CHAPTER 7: "THOSE DELUDED PEOPLE": CLIENTELISM ON THE WELCH FARM (1840-1852).....	107
Qualla Town and Sandtown	110
Welch's Town Narrative, 1840-1852	112
Farm economy in the Mountain South.....	122
The Welch Plantation Economy.....	126
Conclusions.....	169
CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS.....	172
APPENDIX A: CERAMIC INVENTORY	198
APPENDIX B: INVENTORY OF FLORAL REMAINS.....	198
APPENDIX C: INVENTORY OF FAUNAL REMAINS	201
BIBLIOGRAPHY	216

LIST OF TABLES

1. Heads of household, Welch's Town, 1840.....	73
2. Members of Welch family on plantation, 1840	73
3. Minimum number of ceramics vessels by decorative style	87
4. Ceramic wares from Welch and nearby contemporary sites	93
5. Members of Welch family on plantation, 1850	127
6. Members of Welch's Town, 1850.....	128

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Location of the Welch farm within pre-removal boundaries of the Cherokee Nation	2
2. Location of the Welch site (31CE673) in Cherokee County, North Carolina	3
3. Locations of mid nineteenth century sites in study area.....	19
4. Section of 1860 gold survey on Valley River.....	34
5. Aerial photograph showing segment of Western Turnpike.....	34
6. Welch site, facing southeast	36
7. Plan view drawing of Welch site excavations	36
8. Plan view photograph of Block 1 excavations	37
9. Plan view drawing of Block 1 excavations.....	37
10. Profile of Feature 1	38
11. Profile of Feature 2	39
12. Profile of Feature 3	40
13. Section of 1832 Rhea map showing Welch house and road.....	57
14. Army survey map (1837) showing "Welsh (half breed)"	57
15. Section of Deaver map (1837) showing Valley River.....	59
16. Section of of USGS Marble quadrangle with overlay of Deaver tracts purchased by Powell in 1838	69
17. Reconstructed blue shell-edged plate	88
18. Decorated whiteware sherds.....	88
19. Qualla sherd from early nineteenth century Essuttee site.....	95
20. Segments of brass earring or necklace; faceted glass beads	98
21. Chlorite-schist pipe.....	101
22. Worked stone.....	103
23. Welch's Town and Welch plantation, 1839	109
24. Excavated features and proposed structural alignments	135

25. Fishhook manufactured from brass pin	155
26. Firearms-related artifacts	157
27. Clothing-related artifacts	163

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

John and Betty Welch and the members of their extended family lived in the mountains of southwestern North Carolina during the mid-nineteenth century. Their farm was on the northeastern edge of the Cherokee Nation at the time of removal (Figures 1, 2). The community of Welch's Town was a Cherokee enclave supported by the Welch family. For more than 15 years (1839-1855) these two communities (the Welch plantation and nearby Welch's Town) functioned outwardly as a self-sustaining plantation and inwardly as a traditional Cherokee community. I am interested in reconstructing patterns of their daily lives and relationships. Of particular interest to me is how they not only survived but maintained group cohesion and identity during this 15-year period of intense racism, ambiguous status, and ongoing pressure to remove west. By necessity this study incorporates an interdisciplinary approach. I use documentary evidence and archaeological data, using a process of testing one set of data against the other. My goals are to create a Welch family narrative, to discuss and interpret these rich sets of data that illustrate changes in the social and economic fabric of these communities, and to situate these events within a broader anthropological perspective.

My theoretical approach is underpinned by theories of modernity, in which numerous substantive changes to both society and the individual were instituted by powerful nation states. I discuss the economic and social associations forged between the Welches and the members of Welch's Town as a classic patron-client relationship. Clientelism allowed small Cherokee communities to remain in North Carolina and provided a much sought after labor force for the Welch family and other patrons. The development of this relationship originated from long term social and economic ties between these two groups.



Figure 1. Location of the Welch farm within pre-removal boundaries of the Cherokee Nation.

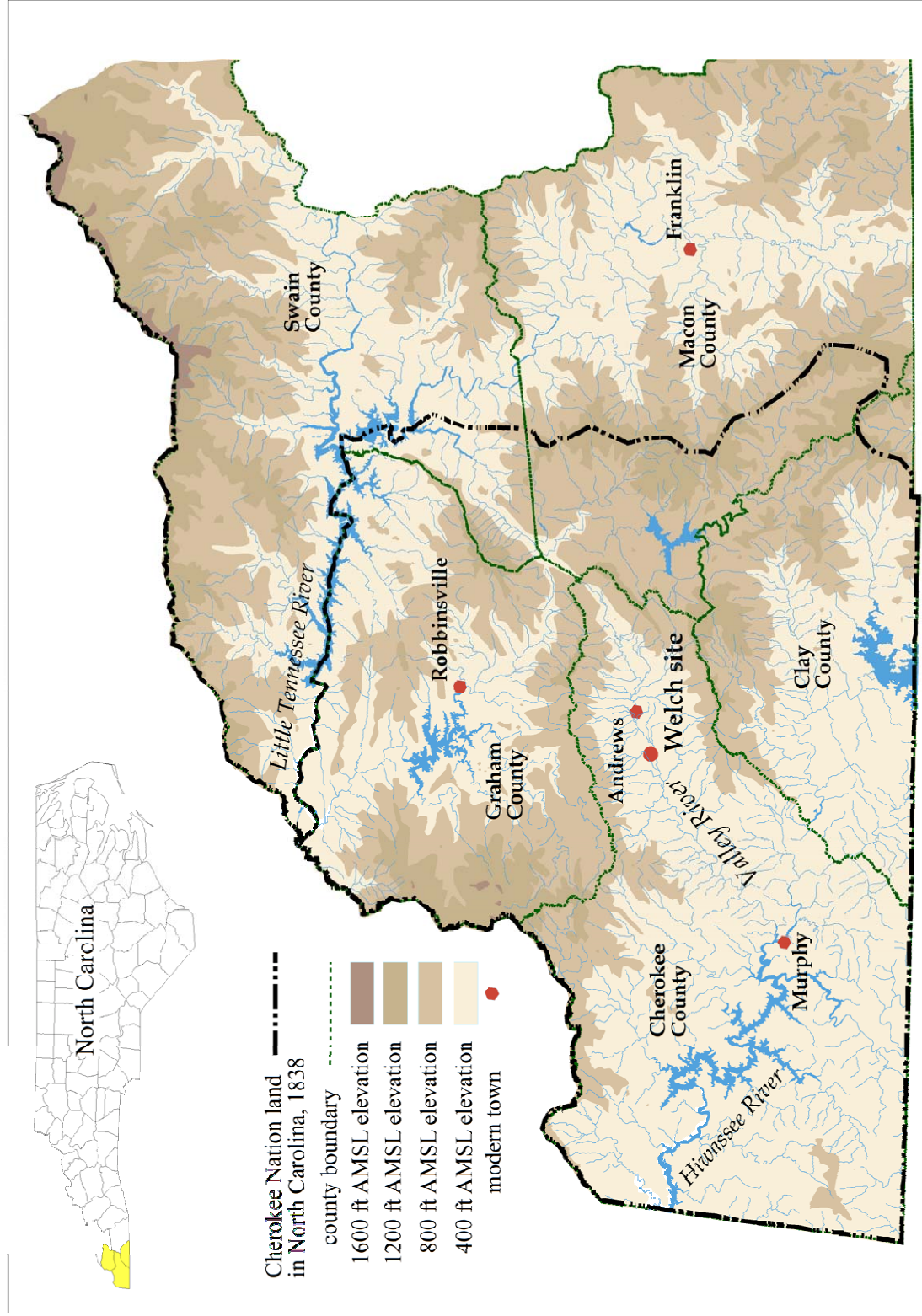


Figure 2. Location of the Welch site (31CE673) in Cherokee County, North Carolina (courtesy of Brett Riggs).

These events occurred within the liminal space of the old Cherokee Nation, in which the status of the Cherokees who avoided removal was undefined. Ironically, this ambiguous status in some ways provided the Cherokees power that otherwise would have eluded them. The Cherokees quickly formulated strategies that undermined activities by the federal government and local whites. Theories of liminality are also used to discuss gender, particularly the case of Betty Welch, who controlled the Welch estate after removal. She helped maintain the traditional Cherokee community on the Welch property and consistently held at bay federal agents bent on removing these Cherokees. Theories of the "other" describe ways in which dominant groups attempted to undermine or control subaltern groups in the region. This "otherness" includes the several African American slaves owned by the Welch family, and illustrates the complexity of racial and ethnic relations during this period.

Theories of material culture are founded in the broad body of literature variously termed contextual, interpretive, and post-processual archaeology. Contextual archaeology states that material culture simultaneously maintains functional and symbolic significance to its users. This theory also differentiates between constitutive and operational identities; material items are produced by members of a society for particular uses, but these items may be seen or used in different ways by other individuals. Material culture is seen not as reflecting a culture, but being an integral part of it, as being "active." Patterns of material culture in archaeological assemblages therefore reflect the world view of the person or people who used and discarded the artifacts (Hodder and Hutson 2003).

Given the era of study and the kinds of questions I address, my methodology is largely historical. The initial research step is to construct a chronological narrative of the Welch plantation based on the vast quantity of primary documents. Archaeological data are then used to address my research questions, and to "test" the documentary evidence. This method has been used successfully in archaeology and is similar to methods such as "tacking" (Hodder and Hutson 2003; Wylie 1999). In this way two disparate types of data are used in conjunction, constantly calling into question findings by the other and presenting new lines of inquiry not previously considered.

My main research question — "How did the liminal space and time of the post-removal era affect the intersecting loci of class, ethnicity, gender, and race within the Welch plantation and Welch's Town?" — is written broadly to allow discussions of particular social and economic changes that occurred because of the Cherokee removal. While using two types of data has many advantages, it also constrains the kinds of questions I can address. Therefore, particular research questions, or ancillaries of my main question, are designed to be addressed by both documentary and archaeological data. These include:

- a. What forms did the social and economic adaptations take within the Welch plantation, including changes in traditional practices?
- b. What specific social and economic forms did the patron-client relationship take in Welch's Town?
- c. How did the Welch family take advantage of this liminality to maintain a space for themselves and the Welch's Town community?
- d. What does the ownership of African American slaves reveal about the Welch's racial perceptions and their adaptation to a post-removal environment?

The initial chapter provides background information on the study area, previous archaeological research and documentary resources, and historic and current academic perceptions of race. Chapter 2 presents the anthropological and archaeological theories underpinning the analyses and interpretations of this research. Theories of modernity, liminality, and clientelism guide interpretations of actions of those on both sides of the removal efforts. Archaeological theories of material culture enable incorporation of the Welch site artifact assemblages into discussion of the family's negotiations after removal. Chapter 3 discusses the archaeological excavations at the Welch house site, which provided a wealth of material culture dating to the family's occupation of the site circa 1850. Chapter 4 provides a narrative of the Cherokees from early European contact until the passing of the Indian removal Act in 1830, setting the scene for the forced Cherokee removal in the late 1830s. Chapters 5-7 are substantive, and focus on the period 1835 through 1852. Chapter 5 investigates the removal period and the impact on the Cherokees in southwestern North Carolina, particularly those living along the Valley and Cheoah rivers. Chapter 6 focuses on the year following removal: a tense,

uncertain time as the Cherokees on the Valley and Cheoah rivers tried to reestablish the social and economic structures of a traditional town. Chapter 7 discusses the period from the establishment of Welch's Town in 1840, through the early 1850s. This period represents the entire span of Welch's Town as a discrete community. Chapter 8 concludes with an overview of the findings and an interpretation of what the Welch's Town community and the patronage of the Welch family meant for the Cherokees in southwestern North Carolina and to a broader audience.

Study Area and Its Natural Environment

The study area includes the section of the Cherokee Nation within the boundaries of the state of North Carolina at the time of removal. The northern and eastern boundaries of the Cherokee Nation, established in the 1819 Calhoun treaty, were the Little Tennessee River and the ridge crest of the Nantahala Mountains, extending from the Little Tennessee River southward to the Georgia state line. The study area was the most mountainous portion of the Cherokee Nation at the time of removal. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, Cherokee agents and travelers commented on the isolated setting and the lack of "civilization" of the inhabitants. Evan Jones, the Baptist minister who helped establish a mission in the area in 1822, observed it was "the darkest part of the Nation" (Jones 1826).

Elevations in the study area range from 1168 ft (356 m) AMSL on the Hiwassee River to over 5000 ft (over 1524 m) AMSL along ridge crests of mountain ranges such as on Cheoah Bald in the Cheoah Mountains and Wayah Bald in the Nantahala Mountains. This range of elevation created several microhabitats that have provided the human inhabitants with a broad diversity of plant and animal resources. Most of the large floodplains, such as along the Valley River, had been cleared for corn production by the Cherokees by the time Europeans arrived in the region (Swanton 1979). Higher elevations and steep areas contained a vast diversity of flora. Mixed hardwood forests were anchored by species of oak, hickory, and chestnut, while upper elevations contained northern hardwoods such as beech, maple, and birch. Along the waterways, large canebrakes provided Cherokees with raw material for basketry and winter fodder for livestock (Hill 1997).

During much of the eighteenth century, buffalo and elk foraged in these areas, although numbers are difficult to ascertain from the scant documentary records (Swanton 1979). Black bear and white-tailed deer were commonly hunted. Smaller game included cottontail rabbit, red, gray, and fox squirrel, raccoon, and opossum. Wild turkey was a common game bird, and numerous smaller avian species hunted by the Cherokees with rifles, shotguns, and blowguns included bobwhite quail, and ruffed grouse (Mooney 1982).

Race and Ethnicity

Without doubt, understanding the material relationships between and among reified categories of ethnicity, race, and class presents perhaps the greatest challenge to contemporary American historical archaeology [Orser 1998:663].

Charles Orser, in his 1998 work "The Challenge of Race to American Historical Archaeology," makes a call to historical archaeologists to explore the material correlates of race, ethnicity, and class. He explains that, while archaeologists have made serious investigations of ethnicity, race has been neglected by almost all historical archaeologists working in America. However, race has been an integral part of the power struggle in the United States since its origin. Race, ethnicity, class, and gender all played significant roles in defining power relations, and how people negotiated these power struggles. However, with few exceptions, race and its relation to economic inequality have been absent in historical archaeological research in America (Orser 1998:662). Since the mid 1990s, a few historical archaeologists have begun to investigate race. However, explicit discussions of race in archaeological texts are still relatively rare (Orser 2001).

Contemporary perceptions of these issues, therefore, are particularly relevant for this research. Power—social, economic, and military—was at the heart of the Southern Indian removals. As Orser (1998) and others (e.g., Delle et al. 2000; McGuire and Paynter 1991; Scott 1994) have observed, perceptions of race were used to exert power and control. Power struggles were central to the negotiations of the Valley River Cherokees during and after removal. This struggle was guided by race, as the army estimated potential behaviors (such as armed resistance) based on perceptions of race and ethnicity.

Currently, a debate amongst historians and archaeologists of historic American Indians in the South is ongoing and concerns two related questions: (1) How did Indians in the region view race during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries? (2) How do we discuss race, and what terms and concepts are appropriate for current discussion? These two questions are relevant to a discussion of race and power, and are addressed in turn, following a review of western perceptions of race during the early nineteenth century.

European American Concepts of Race in the Early Nineteenth Century

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, western perceptions of race in America were increasingly based on "blood" and "blood quantum." This approach, with scientific support, took many forms, such as the one-drop rule for blacks. It led to a confused and changing hierarchy for American Indians, with terms such as "fullblood," "halfblood," and "quadroon" (United States War Department 1835). These categories, beyond reducing identification to "blood," were poorly suited to describe the racial diversity existing in the Cherokee population, which included, minimally, Cherokee, Natchez, Creek, Catawba, African, and European. The military census takers were not prepared for such diversity, and forced these individuals into one of six racial groups — fullblood, half blood, quadroon, African Cherokees, intermarried whites, and black slaves — often based on judgments of physical appearance (and sometimes on judgments of behavior) by the census taker (United States War Department 1835). The multitude of categories for the offspring of Indians and Europeans, versus the single category "African Cherokee," reveals the basis for racial classification. By the mid 1830s, the federal government had accepted the theory of hypodescent, expressed as the one drop rule, for African Americans. The dramatic expansion of cash crops in the South led to increased value for slaves, followed by a hardening in the classifications needed to separate the enslaved population from everyone else. Although people of European descent generally saw American Indians as inferior to themselves, the classification of their "blood" was by degree, and therefore a "fullblood" was expected to be less able or willing to accept "civilization" than an Indian of "mixed blood." These western racial categories were understood as indicators of innate social and

behavioral traits. This was a shift from the Enlightenment thinking of a generation earlier, when the federal government attempted to instigate civilization policies in order to "improve" Indian populations (McLoughlin 1992:368). In addition to the expansion of slavery during the early nineteenth century, a large influx caused concern among many that the "racial purity" of America was in danger. The creation of what Orser calls "The American White Race" stemmed from these fears. The elite attempted to construct "a homogeneous Americanized state" in order to centralize power (Orser 1998:665).

How did Southern Indians view race?

Calcifying western perceptions of race in America during the early to mid nineteenth century are well documented (Genovese 1976); understanding perceptions of race within Indian groups is more difficult. The strict racial terminology used by the army in the 1830s was not the view of race held by most Cherokees. The military used blood quantum as both physical trait and behavioral determinant. Later in the century, as government rolls continued to link "blood" to identity, Cherokees began to accept this viewpoint. Racial terms, particularly "métis" and "fullblood," became shorthand for not only perceived blood quantum (which was sometimes difficult to determine even for Cherokees themselves), but for behavior as well. "Fullblood" came to be used either for a person whose lineage was perceived as entirely Indian or for a person who accepted and practiced traditional Cherokee beliefs. In contrast, "métis" came to mean someone whose lineage included someone other than a Cherokee, as well as someone who accepted western ideologies such as national government and individual wealth accumulation.

Twentieth century historians accepted this rhetorical shorthand, and racial terms became standardized in the literature. Complicating this terminology is that, in many cases, there was a correlation (not causation) between nineteenth century categories of "blood" and behavior. Historians long ago discounted the nineteenth century belief that blood determines behavior, but this led some authors to discount any correlation between blood quantum and behavior. The case of the North Carolina Cherokees is an excellent example. Cherokee communities in the most isolated parts of the

mountains, such as in the Cheoah Valley, were composed primarily of "fullblood" Cherokees (United States War Department 1835). This was due to the difficulty in accessing the area and the disinterest of non-Cherokees to settle there because of a lack of arable land. These communities lived with relatively little input from outside the area. They married few people from outside their communities and they maintained traditional practices and beliefs longer than Cherokees from communities with a longer and more sustained history of European influence. However, there are also numerous well-documented examples from the area that contradict this correlation. Situagi was a Cherokee headman who could not speak or write English, and was listed as "fullblood" by Nathaniel Smith. He was also one of the wealthiest Cherokees in the area (United States War Department 1835). Situagi served as the Aquohee district court judge, was a close friend of the Baptist preacher Evan Jones, and was a detachment conductor during the removal (McLoughlin 1990). There are also similar examples of "métis" Cherokees who embraced traditional practices, although most identified in this group practiced western modes of surplus production and participated in the market economy (Riggs 1999).

Perdue states that, well into the nineteenth century, Indians still had only a very vague concept of race within Indian populations, and that the few references by Indians to race referred to behavior; for example, "halfbreed" meant westernized (2004:713). Others, such as Saunt (2005) and Yarbrough (2008), maintain that, by the late eighteenth century, Indians had a full understanding of western perceptions of race. I agree with the latter authors: most Indian groups did understand the concepts of race as used by most whites of the period. Perdue maintains that Indians understood race when applied to them versus whites and blacks, and that they considered a white marrying into the group as a powerful action (2004:704). If Indians understood race in this sense, how could they not conceptualize a difference with the offspring of Indian and white or black?

As with many other western beliefs, the Cherokees were struggling with issues of race as the removal began. Most of these struggles ultimately came from the desire by some Cherokees to be viewed as "civilized" by the American government, and therefore be left alone, or at least not removed westward. An internal struggle had begun in earnest within the Cherokee Nation by 1820, as

the government became formalized and a series of laws began to dismantle traditional Cherokee structures of governance. Many Cherokees accepted these changes as necessary to deal with the federal government. However, new laws quickly began to have broad and serious impacts on internal affairs. Of the utmost concern for many traditional Cherokees were the major alterations in clan-based social structures. For example, blood revenge, considered a moral obligation, became a capital crime. Another major change came in 1825, when the Cherokee Council passed a law that gave full citizenship to the children of a Cherokee man and a white woman. Another attack on clan structure (as well as traditional gender roles), this law stripped Cherokee women of the sole power to bestow Cherokee citizenship (Yarbrough 2008:35). As with many of the laws passed between 1810 and 1830, these legal strictures were based on European laws and founded in patriarchal and patrilineal societies (McLoughlin 1992). As such, they were unfamiliar to most Cherokees. Traditional Cherokees, the core of who were in southwestern North Carolina in the 1830s, responded with rage, resistance, and, in traditional Cherokee style, by sometimes separating geographically from the Nation.

The early through mid nineteenth century was a period of transition for many Indian groups regarding gender as well as race. These two issues were bound to changing perceptions of society and law, which must all be understood within the broader context of American westward expansion and the growth of capitalism and race slavery. Recently, several authors have begun to investigate these linked issues and how they varied, from the eighteenth century to the present (Miles 2005; Saunt 1999, 2005; Sturm 2002; Yarbrough 2008). These authors have illustrated, through exhaustive research and numerous case studies, the dramatic social changes thrust upon, and undertaken by, American Indians during this period. However, these changes occurred on a face-to-face level, and people made personal and economic choices within this narrower scope. For the Cherokees in southwestern North Carolina at the threshold of removal, traditional Cherokees often resisted a strict racial hierarchy. They supported a community ethos, clan law, and the right of the individual to reject group decisions (Finger 1984; McLoughlin 1992; Mooney 1982; Thomas 1958). All of these principles were altered or rejected by the laws of the new Cherokee Nation, and had a serious impact

on traditional understanding of society, economy, race, and gender (McLoughlin 1992; Yarbrough 2008).

Yarbrough (2008) reveals that, while race laws were becoming hardened in Cherokee society during this period, they retained some fluidity. She found that identity "remained a complex blend of lineage and legal and social interpretation" and issues such as "self-identification, physical appearance, community perception, and behavior" guided racial identification (Yarbrough 2008:37-38). This transitional period was marked by different rates of change, therefore making it a non-linear set of events (Saunt et al. 2006). More acculturated Cherokees accepted race slavery as part and parcel of modern capitalism, a position that also served as a defensive political posture in separating themselves from an enslaved population. In contrast, more traditional Cherokees continued to reject the strict racial separation promoted by western culture. To a certain extent, the latter group incorporated blacks and members of other tribes into their communities. Their acceptance was not the same as it had been two generations earlier, when individuals from outside the tribe might be adopted or marry into the tribe and receive full citizenship and clan affiliation. As modernization became more predominant, earlier, strict clan interpretations weakened, but a solidified racial hierarchy was not yet established (McLoughlin 1992; Yarbrough 2008). While small numbers of free blacks continued to live in the upper South in the 1830s, in white society they did not marry whites. However, within the Cherokee Nation, a small number of free blacks continued to marry Cherokees; the Cherokee Nation in the western territory outlawed this in 1839 (Yarbrough 2008:38).

The army classifications of 1835 regarding race in the North Carolina Cherokee population hold some credence; they reflect a population with little intermarriage with non-Indian people, in comparison with Cherokees from surrounding states. For the traditional Cherokees in North Carolina, however, town membership, not race, was the most significant criterion of identity. Their racial inclusion, however, may have been limited regarding African Americans, although there were still a few intermarried blacks in the 1830s (United States War Department 1835).

Terminology of Race and Ethnicity

Perdue argues that terms such as "métis" and "fullblood" contain nineteenth century racist connotations (Perdue 2004:702; Saunt et al. 2006:400). Saunt et al. (2006:400) suggest that, while originally denoting racist thought, these terms have become imbued with new meaning, as American Indian writers renegotiate the terms into modern expressions of "in-betweenness" which was, and is, a shared experience in America (Saunt et al. 2006:400).

It seems apparent that the Cherokees and members of other Southern tribes during the early nineteenth century understood the concept of racial difference within their own tribes, even if they did not give it the significance that whites did. Saunt et al. (2006:400) argue convincingly that we cannot discuss race in the past as "either entirely absent or all-encompassing," and that Indians, as everybody, were greatly affected by racism. If Indians did indeed understand these concepts, it would seem appropriate to use terms such as "métis" and "fullblood." However, Epperson implores us not to accept "whiteness as an unassailable fact of nature" (Epperson 1997:10, quoted in Orser 1998:666). Blood quantum was not questioned for whites at the time. Therefore, to question or identify blood quantum for the Cherokees in the region is to question their racial heritage in a way not done for whites, who were supposedly free of such matters by virtue of their "whiteness." Although the use of certain terms may not contain explicit racist meaning, in this instance it is unnecessary, and perhaps misleading, to attempt to dissect Cherokee heritage based on blood quantum.

In the following research, the racial or blood quantum identifications for Cherokee individuals by the army or by white civilians are discussed, because these identifications affected how the census takers and others treated these individuals. An important part of this research is how contemporary perceptions of race caused people to act differently towards each other. However, I avoid such standardized terms as "métis" and "fullblood" when making academic interpretations or statements. In such situations, I use terms that are underpinned by current perceptions of race: Cherokee, white, and black. These terms also are not without issue, but necessary in a modern setting in which race and power continue to be intertwined.

There are several reasons to disregard terms such as "métis" and "fullblood." First, many individuals were identified incorrectly. Second, while the perceived racial background of these individuals was significant, other factors, such as social and religious views, were more important to the Cherokees. I am interested in identifying why a particular group of people, roughly 400 out of a larger population of 2900 (U.S. War Department 1835; Finger 1984:16, 28-29), chose to risk their lives in active resistance against an occupying army. I argue that their choices were based on a sense of the importance of maintaining a traditional community. My research therefore is based on Cherokee perceptions of traditionalism; the language I use reflects this focus. While there is a correlation between "fullblood" groups and traditional beliefs and practices, it is inaccurate to use these two terms interchangeably; some Cherokees identified as "fullblood" were very westernized, and some "métis" Cherokees were very traditional in their beliefs. Historically, terms referring to "blood" and behavior have been used interchangeably or in an undefined fashion. I attempt to be explicit in the use of terms referring to lineage, cultural practice, and ideology.

When discussing the subjects of this research, I attempt to use terms which would have been closer to what the Welches and the Cherokees of Welch's Town used and considered significant. The voices of the Welch family and of Welch's Town are not as clear as I would like. However, the voices of John Owl, Betty Welch, and others are audible. In their comments is a striking absence of race, and a common principle that classification, or belonging, was based on town membership.

Ethnicity and Historical Archaeology

Archaeologists have long focused on ethnicity. In historical archaeology, this began with a search for "ethnic markers," an attempt to associate specific sets of material culture with a discrete ethnic group. More recently, historical archaeologists have realized the simplicity of this approach, and instead have attempted to investigate the fluidity of ethnic groups and identify material culture correlates of these changes and nuances (Orser 1998:662).

Perdue makes a valid point in asserting that American Indians considered behavior more important than lineage (2004). During the era in question, a person's actions were often judged on a

continuum between "traditional" and "western" or "acculturated." As pressures for land cessions and removal grew throughout the era, a concomitant schism expanded within the Southern tribes. In this highly politicized era, ethnic loyalties were often worn on the sleeve: food, shelter, and clothing became symbols of political alignment. For this reason, ethnicity is a central theme in this research. For the Cherokees living in the mountains of North Carolina (and elsewhere) in the 1830s, clothing announced one's political allegiance to both friend and stranger. This is why archaeologists have generally focused more on ethnicity than on race: ethnicity and material culture have, in many ways, a straightforward relationship, at least compared to race and material culture (Orser 1998). As Orser states clearly, though, we must investigate race and class if we are to discern how these important social and economic factors affected the lives of the people we study. I hope to explicitly address these issues; the lives of John and Betty Welch and their children are discussed in a rich body of documents dating from the early 1830s through the 1850s, and recent archaeological investigations at their house site have provided detail on their daily lives during and after the removal.

Race and Ethnicity at Welch's Town

For the Welch family and the members of Welch's Town, town membership overruled other classifications, including race (the exception was African American slaveholding by the Welches), ethnicity and citizenship. Even being "Cherokee" had its limitations, as John Owl clarified when speaking about the Cherokees of Welch's Town: "those of the Cherokees, who composed that settlement, had separated from their Nation, and was now opposed to removal, neither did they consider their interest as identified with the other settlements" (Hindman 1841). For the Cherokees in the mountainous Valley Towns, this sentiment had a long history. Since the first decade of the nineteenth century, they had seen the political power of the Lower Towns grow, but felt they received little support or representation. The 1817 and 1819 treaties represented for them yet another lack of support, as leaders of the Cherokee Nation traded land around the Valley Towns without the inhabitants' sanction (McLoughlin 1992:215). Many of the individuals who remained in North Carolina after removal had rejected the Cherokee Nation once before, by accepting reservations as

stipulated in the 1819 Calhoun treaty (Jurgelski 2004). This strengthened their belief in the long held Cherokee concept of traditional town structures and government, which also incorporated clan and extended family ties and responsibilities. Traditionalist Cherokees adamantly opposed the new Cherokee national government and its laws, which opposed traditional Cherokee social code at every turn. Each community, or town, was a functioning entity and opposed outside influence. Internally, people could acquire wealth as long as they did not attempt to impose beliefs or controls on other members.

Documentary records

My research began with a thorough review of a variety of primary documents. These were inspected with the goal of constructing a genealogy of the members of Welch's Town prior to, during, and after the removal, including the period 1835 through 1852 (the approximate date of the dissolution of Welch's Town). Relevant documents range in date from the 1835 Cherokee census to the 1852 Mullay roll. I then reconstructed the membership of Welch's Town and created a chronology of Welch's Town from 1838-1852. This narrative chronicled the interactions within and outside Welch's Town, including exchanges between the Welch family and the members of Welch's Town and local businessmen, Cherokee agents, and Cherokees from other communities. The Treaty of New Echota, the Cherokee removal, and subsequent Cherokee claims created a mass of documentary resources. The largest and most relevant for my research include the papers of the Fourth Cherokee Board of Commissioners, letters received by the War and Indian offices, the 1835 census, the 1837 spoliation claims, military correspondence, the William H. Thomas rolls, the Siler roll, Mullay roll, and personal correspondence (primarily the William H. Thomas, James Taylor, and James Terrell papers). These resources were used to construct a narrative of the Welch plantation and Welch's Town from 1835 through 1852. Additionally, contemporary maps were used to identify the approximate locations of mid nineteenth century Cherokee houses, including those of John and Betty Welch, John (Chinoque) and Liddy Owl, Nancy and Rose Hawkins, Gideon and Rebecca Morris, and unidentified "fullblood" families. The method of superimposing removal era maps over modern

topographic quadrangles worked extremely well in the identification of removal era house sites (Riggs 1999) and was used to identify the Welch house site. Although the other archaeological sites have not yet been identified, the approximate locations enable a reconstruction of the spatial layout of the Welch plantation and Welch's Town.

Regional archaeological research

During much of the twentieth century, historical archaeology in the United States focused on the famous, elite, or earliest European settlements (e.g. Cotter 1958; Harrington 1952; Harrington et al. 1956; Noel Hume 1982). In the late 1960s, Charles Fairbanks excavated two slave quarters. In so doing, he guided the field of historical archaeology towards a focus on those "without voice," slaves and the rural and urban poor. Throughout the 1980s this focus became more attuned to the daily lives of these "forgotten" people. By the 1990s these investigations focused on daily lives, resistance, and negotiations of the poor against the powers-that-be, particularly the various forms of state power.

During the last two decades of the twentieth century, historical archaeologists in the Southern United States excavated numerous sites associated with nineteenth century poor rural and urban whites, African American slaves, and, to a lesser degree, American Indians. This lack of focus on Indian sites dating to the nineteenth century was related to the misunderstanding that, in the nineteenth century South, race was largely a binary opposition of black and white. Historic Indian sites were considered part and parcel of an earlier political phenomenon, that of the frontier and early white settlement and the concomitant removal of Indians. However, American Indians remained in the South throughout the nineteenth century (and to the present), and their continued presence played a significant role in the modernization of the South during the nineteenth century.

Archaeological documentation of nineteenth century Cherokee house sites began with Baker's (1970) excavations at Elijah Hicks's cabin at New Echota. Investigations of nineteenth century Cherokee contexts in northern Georgia continued with Garrow's (1979) excavations at the Coosawattee Cabin Site and Ledbetter's (Ledbetter et al. 1987) excavations at the Moses Downing

site. In the 1990s, excavations were performed at the Cherokee town of Hickory Log (Alvey et al. 1993; Webb 1995).

Since 1990, archaeological investigations in southwestern North Carolina of early and mid nineteenth century Cherokee, African American, and European American sites have illustrated the variety of social and economic adaptations (Figure 3). The following research has been greatly influenced by nineteenth-century Cherokee research by Brett Riggs. Since 1990, Riggs has excavated numerous removal-era Cherokee sites in Cherokee County, North Carolina. Riggs's dissertation research focused on the cultural and economic disparities between "fullblood" and "métis" Cherokee just before removal. Riggs excavated primary contexts at the Cherokee house sites of John Christie and Chewkeaskee (Riggs 1996, 1999). The material assemblages from these two sites reveal distinct social and economic differences within the Cherokee population in southwestern North Carolina during the mid 1830s. Riggs also excavated contexts from the removal era Valley Towns Baptist Mission and a post-removal era (ca. 1840) European American farmstead (the Hawkins-Sourjohn site) (Riggs 1999). All of these sites are located within 24 km (15 miles) of the Welch site and slightly predate or are contemporaneous with it. In 1999, archaeologists from ASU excavated the slave quarters of the McCombs plantation in Cherokee County. A block excavation revealed the remains of three slave cabins (ca. 1850s) and nearby work areas that may have involved tobacco barns, a sorghum mill, or a pig roast (Shumate et al. 2000).

In 2004, a survey of removal era sites was performed in southwestern North Carolina on National Park Service lands (Riggs and Greene 2005). The survey documented the archaeological remains of several Cherokee cabin sites and an inn or stand along the Unicoi Turnpike, and recorded the locations of contemporary above-ground remains, including lengthy intact segments of the old State Road, the Unicoi Turnpike, and the old army road, constructed by members of the North Carolina militia in the summer of 1838. In 2006, excavations at four removal era sites in the same area were performed for the United States Forest Service, documenting the material remains of four Cherokee households (Riggs and Greene 2007).

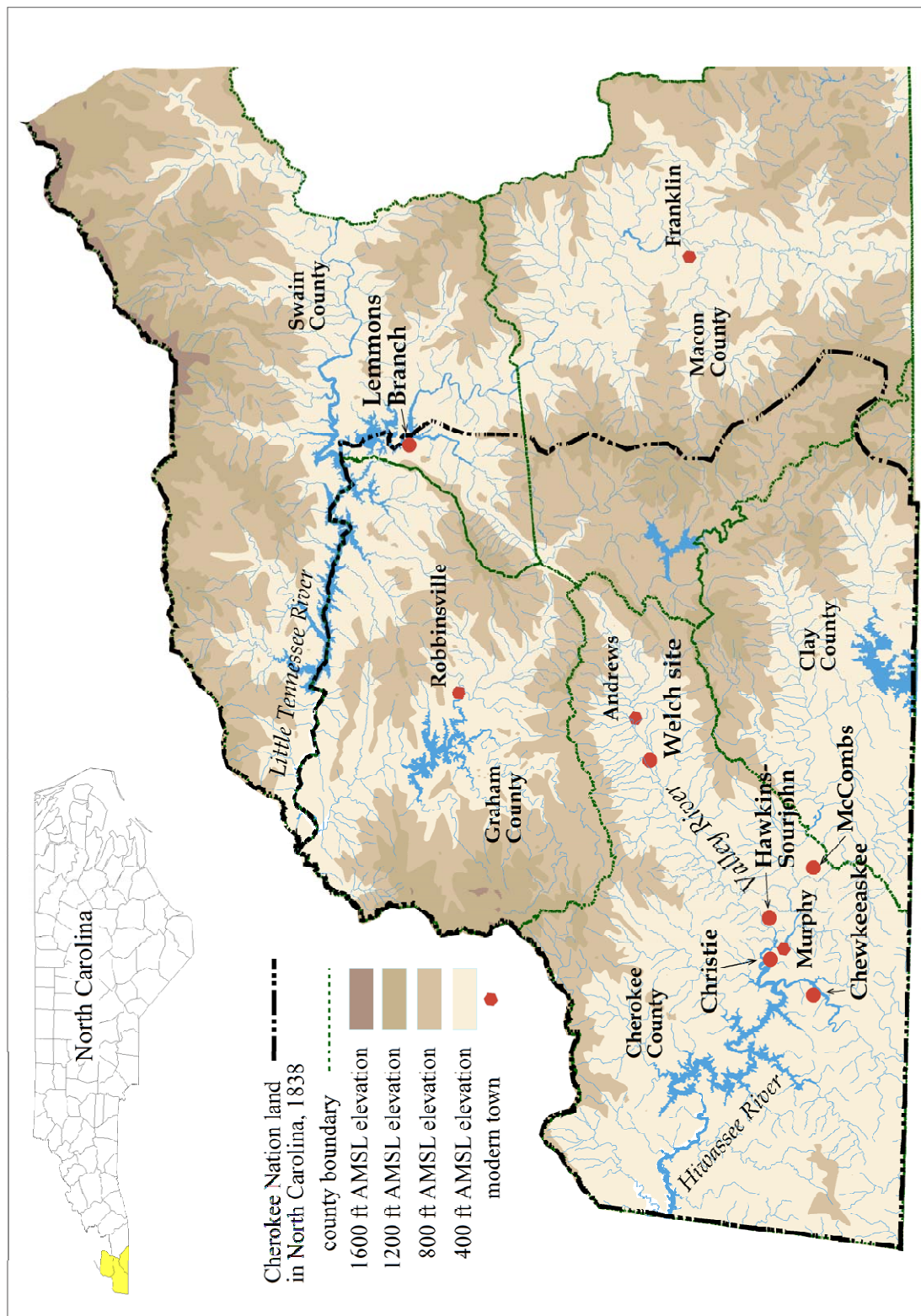


Figure 3. Location of mid-nineteenth century sites in study area (courtesy of Brett Riggs).

The assemblages from these nearby archaeological sites are used as comparative data to illustrate the universe of available material culture and to investigate how these groups viewed, and perhaps manipulated, race, class, ethnicity, and gender.

CHAPTER 2

THEORY

My research incorporates several bodies of theoretical literature, many of which are not commonly used in conjunction. These bodies of work can generally be separated into two groups and correlate with the two main thrusts of my research. The initial step in my research is to describe the daily lives and practices of the people living on the Welch plantation and to place this within a broader historical setting. The body of literature pertaining to this work can be broadly categorized as theories of modernity. Within this are several specific lines of theory that investigate particular kinds of adaptation and resistance by the Welch family and the members of Welch's Town.

The second major step is to discuss how the material culture of the Welch family relates to these adaptations. Theories of material culture, particularly in American archaeology over the past three decades, have varied widely over not only the meaning of material culture, but what kinds of questions we can even ask of it. My theoretical approach to material culture is based in an interest of particular historical settings. While I am interested in questions of meaning and interpretation of material culture, I do not adhere to what some critics have called "extreme relativism" (Trigger 2003:23). My approach to material culture, theoretically and methodologically, is with the constraints of material culture and archaeological data fully in mind.

Although this body of literature is diverse, it provides a foundation with which I can address the particular actions of individuals, place these interactions within a broader historical context, and discuss the effects of ethnicity, race, class, and gender. I can also address the role and significance of material culture in relation to these issues. As with the methods of my approach, I constantly move back and forth between these bodies of literature, "tacking," checking one against the other, and in the process arrive at a more coherent interpretation of structure and agency.

Modernity

Anderson (1991) discusses the qualitative changes in forms of governmental control during the shift to modernity during the early to mid nineteenth century. Foucault, in a similar vein, discusses a contemporaneous shift in powers wielded by the state that impact populations on a deeper, sociological level (Foucault 1978, 1979). These and other perceptions of modernity entail an almost binary opposition of modern versus pre-modern or non-modern — a qualitative shift that altered social and economic relations for "modernized" populations.

Many of the events that occurred within the boundaries of the old Cherokee Nation during and after the removal correspond closely with the construction of modernity as posited by Anderson (1991), Calhoun (1994), and Foucault (1978, 1979). The devices used by the army (e.g. maps and censuses) prepared the ground for state control of the lands previously recognized as the Cherokee Nation. During military occupation (1835-1838), army cartographers created detailed topographic maps of the area that identified the locations of Cherokees farms as well as valuable natural resources: timber, iron, marble, water, and fertile soil. State control was attempted through the establishment of specific criteria: adequate infrastructure, gridded space (including both people, with the census, and geography, with private property), collection of taxes and fees, and ideological constructions of the "other." Thus the military occupation of the Cherokee Nation represented the initiation of new forms of personal control and institutional domination at the "threshold of modernity" (Foucault 1978:143). During this period a new national form of domination was largely achieved through these forms of control and the identification of "normal" social behavior, thereby creating identifiable "abnormal" or "anomalous" behavior (Foucault 1978, 1979; Rabinow 1984). In the United States this was also an era of national endeavor to define what was "American." Often this definition was based on those groups who were seen as un-American, such as Indians (McLoughlin 1990:4-6).

After the removal the state used other modes of control. Legal means were used to great effect; codified racism prevented Cherokees from owning land, voting, and attaining state or federal

citizenship. At the same time, legal control of the resources left vacant by the removal was used to disperse the land, water, timber, and mineral "rights" to the highest bidder. The construction of new roads, funded largely by the state, provided the necessary infrastructure for white immigration and resource export. Social modes of control were also utilized. "Otherness" in the form of race hatred, continued and in some ways expanded. Cherokees were often viewed in a paternalistic light by state and federal legislators that, unfortunately, framed the option for a second Cherokee removal.

Recently much has been written on the gaps or lapses in the application and maintenance of modernity. Several theories discuss the ways in which modernity cannot entail complete control by modern nation states. These include theories of liminality, localism, and clientelism, which critique and question theories of modern state control, discussed in more detail below.

One criticism of modernity theory is its essentialist view and lack of real agency. Much of modernity theory naturalizes the modern nation state as an all-powerful force within which individuals have little control. For example, Meskell criticizes Foucault for his focus on "power" and his "depersonalized, uninhabited histories" (Meskell 2000:16-17). Meskell describes these as top-down models, which inscribe individuals with little or no agentive power. These writings are largely uninhabited by people (Meskell 2000:20).

Meskell suggests the use of a bottom-up model, beginning with historically documented individuals and groups. From their actions one can induce what Meskell describes as "the articulation of agency and structure, causality and meaning, rationality and imagination, physical determinations and symbolic resonances" (Meskell 2000:18).

This is aligned with a project that Meskell continues to describe:

In the last decade, post-processual archaeology has in theory placed great emphasis on the individual and his or her intentions—although in practice we still omit real people. The attempt to locate individuals involved two quite different projects. The first is what Johnson (1989:190) refers to as a practical concern with "specifically existing moments, present particularly in historical archaeology where one can identify "real people" and relate them to traces in the archaeological record (Meskell 2000:19).

Meskill also suggests that there was a much more gradual shift to modernity and that there has never been the total control implied by some authors (e.g. Anderson 1991; Calhoun 1994). This is particularly true in certain settings, such as during periods of the establishment of a state. These instances, usually defined with discrete temporal and geographic boundaries, have been variously termed liminal spaces, borderlands, the frontier, the periphery, and the middle ground (Adelman and Aron 1999; Haefeli 1999; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; van Gennep 1960; White 1991). It was in such a setting that Welch's Town was created and maintained for 15 years. This was a unique case in many ways. It was not a borderland in the traditional sense; the area was defined politically and legally as county, state, and federal land. Most of the local population was white and maintained a "normal" legal status. Liminal only refers to the Cherokees who remained there after removal.

The following discussions of liminality, localism, and clientelism are couched within the framework of the modern period and how these aspects of modernity affected the Cherokees and others "on the ground."

Liminality

The study of liminal space in anthropology was initiated in 1909 with the publication of *Les Rites de Passage* by Arnold van Gennep. The goal of the author was to tie together under a single scheme the various rites that were being studied by anthropologists in the "uncivilized" parts of the world during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This scheme was identified by van Gennep as a tripartite, ritualized process which people underwent as their identity changed through events such as birth and marriage. For van Gennep the ritualized aspects of the process reduced the dangers associated with changes in peoples' lives. Of particular interest to him was the space in between these changes, the *marge*, or liminal space in which the person was in a state of limbo or flux. This state followed the initial stage of separation (and associated preliminal rites) and preceded the final stage of incorporation (and post-liminal rites). Van Gennep focused on events such as birth and marriage and discussed these rites of passage as most prevalent in "semicivilized" societies, in which these regular events retained "magico-religious" significance. However, he also applied the use

of the liminal stage to other groups, such as the liminality of the field researcher embarking on a long, distant journey and his acceptance (incorporation) into another society (van Gennep 1960:27). He also discusses the "territorial passage," in which geographical areas have liminal significance, either as a boundary between two competing groups, or as the liminal space of a journey (e.g. the journey of a field researcher). Liminality was therefore defined very broadly by van Gennep, and while his work focused on the "semicivilized," it is applicable to "modern" groups as well.

More recent scholarship has shown that the concept is equally useful in modern western societies, which contain much more rigid social divisions than van Gennep considered. Chavez (1991) uses the concepts of liminal space and territorial passage to investigate the lives of illegal Mexican and Nicaraguan immigrants in San Diego. Chavez's account, written after hundreds of hours of personal interviews, presents both the external pressures and internal conflicts of this geographic and social liminality. The transitional phase experienced by the immigrants in San Diego included ongoing legal and social hindrances to incorporation into the surrounding communities. Socially there was a refusal by a majority of the population in San Diego and the surrounding area to accept, or incorporate, the immigrants. This refusal often took the form of "mythologizing" the immigrants as dangerous, lazy, or disruptive (Chavez 1991).

The territorial passage to San Diego created disunity and stress within the immigrant population. Many who chose to remain in the United States were conflicted about which aspects of their new communities to accept and which to deny. Reactions were complex and were related to factors such as language and literacy, gender, age, and locations of other family members. Chavez quoted many of his interviewees to provide a sense of the conflicting emotions felt by immigrants: "they have the illegal very marginalized," "I don't want to adapt to the customs," "the memory of my Mexico doesn't leave me," "to feel part of the American community one has to speak English" (Chavez 1991:272).

These same factors affected the members of Welch's Town and other Cherokee communities in North Carolina after removal. The complex array of emotions created a unique environment for the Cherokees. Even though they remained in their geographic homeland, they were nonetheless in a

marginalized space. Most of the tribe had been marched west, leaving small, remnant populations scattered in North Carolina and surrounding states. Social networks were weakened or destroyed, and traditional communities were replaced by white communities or, in some cases, geographic isolation. "Being Indian" came to have new meaning for both the Cherokees and others living in the region. Race, ethnicity, language, and material culture were redefined, as whites became the majority and concepts of "being American" became increasingly important. As Chavez states, incorporation into the new community occurs when "the participant acquires the appropriate knowledge, experiences, and behaviors and successfully completes the proper rituals" (Chavez 1991:258). For many Cherokees incorporation was not a goal; in the 1840s being "Indian" was anathema to being "American," and most chose the former. Most probably realized that they would "find their full incorporation into the new society blocked because of ... the larger society's view of them as 'outsiders.'" (Chavez 1991:259). What it meant to be an American was defined regionally, and where there were minority groups, categories such as "white," "Christian," and "civilized" took on additional meaning in opposition to the "other."

As with the immigrants in San Diego, the Cherokees in North Carolina were mythologized as individuals and groups that were potentially detrimental to local communities. In public speeches, private correspondence, and in print, the dangers and inferior nature of the Cherokees were broadcast. While social incorporation has been elusive, the Cherokees of North Carolina began legal aggregation in the late 1860s, when Lloyd Welch (the youngest son of John and Betty Welch) wrote a constitution for the group. By the early 1870s they had organized an elected government, creating the foundation of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, formally incorporated in 1889 (Finger 1984:155).

Localism

While liminality creates great stress and conflict within the marginalized group, members find ways to use this undefined status to their advantage. The Welches and the Cherokee community of Welch's Town participated in mutually beneficial actions during and after removal, and strove to

maintain their community and community-level governance. For the Welches and others, these goals were driven by an adherence to the ideology of localism, defined as:

The representation of group identity as defined primarily by a sense of commitment to a particular place and to a set of cultural practices that are self-consciously articulated and to some degree separated and directed away from the surrounding social world [Nadel-Klein 1991].

For John and Betty Welch, a commitment to localism emanated from two historical trajectories. The Cherokees in North Carolina at the time of removal still largely adhered to a traditional form of community government based on the village or town. Each town was conceptualized as a separate, self-governed entity. Many traditional Cherokees rejected their national government, which became increasingly powerful and centralized throughout the 1810s and 1820s. The traditionalists considered many of the new laws invasive and inconsistent with Cherokee life. In addition, many Cherokees, particularly in the mountains, felt they were not represented by the Cherokee national government (McLoughlin 1992:215). In 1819, many Cherokees, including the Welches, formally separated themselves from the Cherokee Nation in response to this expanding government power. These families, called reservees, accepted 640-acre parcels of land outside the Cherokee Nation from the United States, in exchange for renunciation of Cherokee citizenship and acceptance of United States citizenship. These families rejected centralized government, be it Cherokee or white. The Welches also embraced localism because of a closely associated ideal embraced by many white frontier families. Betty Welch's father, John Blythe, had lived on the borderlands of the Cherokee Nation since at least the early nineteenth century. He, as other settlers, had moved into the region to escape the burdensome control of the federal government, as well as to acquire cheap land. Several of the reservees were whites who had married into Cherokee families. These individuals showed the ability to be inclusive, to overlook popular ideologies of "otherness." A foundational principle of most of the reservees was maintenance of community-level governance. They freely accepted others who shared their beliefs, as long as they tried to impose no other form of control. However, many of the reservees did not reject wealth accumulation. Several owned and operated large-scale farms and owned African American slaves; their inclusiveness did not extend to this segment of the population.

Clientelism

Clientelism was a widespread economic and social pattern during the nineteenth century.

Clientelism was used by most of the North Carolina Cherokees after removal as a way to sidestep many of the modern controls being implemented and to limit the power of the federal government to initiate a "second removal."

Various forms of the patron-client relation have been discussed for groups in many parts of the world, particularly in Latin America, Asia, and India (e.g. Mitchie 1981; Rothstein 1979; Scott 1972). While a straightforward definition has remained elusive, most authors have defined a set of characteristics that form the foundation of the patron-client relationship. These structural aspects include reciprocity, an unequal balance of power, a dyadic structure, and face-to-face interaction. Reciprocity "distinguishes patron-client dyads from relationships of pure coercion or formal authority that also may link individuals of different status" (Scott 1972:93). Within this reciprocal relationship, however, there is a wide range of inequality between patron and client, based on the ability of the patron to supply protection, goods, land, or other necessities that the client has difficulty acquiring. The client, in accepting the terms of the relationship, in return supplies labor, defense, or other skills needed by the patron. Alternatively, the client can "vote with his feet" and abandon the relationship altogether. Clientelism usually involves face-to-face interactions between patron and clients, and is a central aspect of how the relationship is formed and evolves. The economic aspect of the relationship is only one of many. As Scott states, the "patron-client bond often creates trust and affection between the partners" (Scott 1972:94). Similar to this face-to-face interaction is what Scott calls the "whole person" aspect of the relationship (Scott 1972:95). A patron and client may be associated by kinship, locality, a series of exchanges over a long period of time, and generational patronage (Scott 1972:95). The dyadic structure of patronage is obvious, although some authors suggest it is more correctly a triadic relationship, in which the patron-client relation can only exist in reaction to a hegemonic third power (Stein 1984).

Gould (1996), in his study of state centralization and patronage in the late eighteenth century in America, sees patronage as a common form of initiating state control and, alternatively, of resisting this control. His interpretation of the whiskey rebellion in 1794 reorients the event, away from strict class lines, to boundaries or groupings based on levels of prior patronage networks (Gould 1996). He hypothesizes that "the principal factor distinguishing those elite members who eventually became insurgents from those who did not was their respective positions in local networks of political patronage" (Gould 1996:404). Gould feels that, while patronage has been explored as a method in which colonizers co-opted indigenous elites, this same literature has neglected patronage as a source of resistance within groups that have been alienated by such colonial encounters (1996:424). This may be the case with the Welch family; they lost significant holdings under the 1819 Calhoun Treaty (Jurgelski 2004; Welch 1843, 1846a, 1846b). The displacement of so many Cherokees from their 640-acre reservations shortly after the treaty caused distrust among many Cherokees in the region. Gould also suggests that the patronage system may operate to resist state control, as disenfranchised elites cross-cut class boundaries and elicit the support of subaltern groups (Gould 1996). Additionally, for the Welches, community ties with other Cherokee families that formed along Valley River between 1820 and 1838 probably played a significant role in their decision to direct and supply large-scale resistance to forced removal.

Another significant aspect of Gould's work is his discussion of the interactions between the three groups involved in such state building events: state officials and supporters, patrons who resist state control, and clients, who are often wooed by both elite parties (1996:425). This issue is investigated more deeply by Stein, who interprets patronage as a triadic, dysfunctional relationship based in dependency and fear instilled by the patron (Stein 1984). Stein suggests the patron, operating in his or her own best interest, binds the client in a subservient, dependent relationship based on economic exploitation. This was certainly the view held by many people who visited Welch's Town, particularly those attempting to initiate a "voluntary removal." Thomas Hindman, a Cherokee agent from 1840

through 1842, described what he saw as Betty Welch's cruel and self-serving abuse of the Cherokees living on her property (Hindman 1841).

I use these varying interpretations of the social and economic aspects of patronage to interpret the actions of the Welches and others in the post-removal period. Certainly this patronage system can be seen as a purely economic form used to great advantage by the Welches at a time when labor was regionally in short supply. This applies as well to the other patron-client relations formed by other Cherokees who remained in North Carolina, with William Holland Thomas at Qualla Town and William Siler at Sand Town. In each of these cases the patron risked economic prosperity as well as social standing by providing spaces for Cherokees. In the case of the Welches, they also risked their physical well-being and their right to remain in North Carolina. The patron-client relation that was forged into Welch's Town represents a complex set of social, economic, and historic ties that ultimately allowed the participants to remain in North Carolina and reestablish a traditional town.

Material Culture

My research focuses on changes in Cherokee adaptation as a result of the Cherokee removal, particularly changes in the material culture universe of the Cherokees in North Carolina. I am interested in the socialized aspects of material culture (Wylie 2002), and interpret possible meanings of material in terms of racial, ethnic, gender, and class identities. These questions encompass a variety of daily practices of Cherokee culture and life; modes of dress, dining, and architecture served as avenues for conscious expression of identity, tied to the continuum of "traditional" versus "western" (Riggs 1999).

I agree with Orser that archaeological interpretation begins at the initiation of an archaeological project (2004). For me, this includes interpretation during documentary research and archaeological fieldwork and analyses and involves going back and forth between the disparate sources of historic records and archaeological data. This method has been termed "tacking" (Wylie 1999) and the hermeneutic circle (Shanks and Hodder 1995). Orser (2004) uses this method to interpret the role of race and racialization in his analysis of mid nineteenth century Irish cabins. In the following research,

primary documents are used to create a narrative of the Welch plantation and Welch's Town. The details of daily life are then defined through analyses of the archaeological record. These two texts are combined and tested against each other to create a narrative of these two Cherokee communities. Modernity theory is then used to situate this narrative within the environment of nineteenth century modernity.

My research questions are based on the effects of rapid and dramatic changes that occurred as a result of the removal. Therefore, part of this contextual approach includes comparisons between pre- and post-removal era sites. In discussing removal era Cherokee artifact assemblages, Riggs (1996, 1999) states that practices such as modes of dress, architecture, and dining illustrated social and political ideologies. Within this framework, he identified and interpreted social meanings for removal era Cherokee assemblages. I use a fine-grained contextual analysis that incorporates assemblages from post-removal era sites (circa 1850), and compare these with Riggs's data. This fine-grained analysis is made possible by the detailed documents from the period. Assemblages from the post-removal sites are analyzed and interpreted in conjunction with these earlier contexts.

The context of artifact assemblages is central to the interpretation of artifacts. For example, as Orser states, not all artifacts or artifact classes contain specific symbolic significance (Orser 2004). If all of the assemblages from the study sites contain whiteware, then this class may have little or no meaning for one or more of the research questions. This point has been made in many instances, particularly by Burley (Burley 1988; Burley et al. 1992). By the 1840s whiteware was ubiquitous on almost all sites in North America, including remote buffalo-hunting camps inhabited by the Red River métis of Saskatchewan (Burley 1988; Burley et al. 1992) and Russian forts inhabited by a diverse mix of people from Russia, Alaska, and California (Lightfoot et al. 1998).

Riggs (1999) excavated several removal era Cherokee house sites dating to the 1830s and abandoned in 1838 by forced removal. In every context, including house sites of both traditional and westernized Cherokees, Cherokee handmade ceramic sherds were recovered. In sharp contrast, no handmade sherds were found in the Welch site assemblage, which dates circa 1850. In this context,

the absence of this type of pottery is significant. It may represent a major shift resulting from the events and aftermath of removal. It may reflect the composition of the Welch household, specifically the presence of a European American female head of household. Most likely it was a combination of these and other factors that caused the Welch family in the 1840s to exclude these traditional wares from their daily materiality. However, I cannot simply equate handmade Cherokee ceramics with traditionalism. Although none of these sherds was recovered, documentary records show a continuation of traditional Cherokee practices (e.g. townhouse construction, stickball games, dances) at least by the members of Welch's Town. Perhaps the Welch family felt they could not participate in such open displays of "Indianness" in the political climate following removal.

While some authors have criticized the use of a contextual archaeology as historical and particularistic, this kind of research continues to be constrained by the artifacts through what Brumfiel refers to as "the resistance of the data" (Brumfiel 1996). My research focuses on material assemblages and expands from there to discuss meaning, in a bottom-to-top model (Meskell 2000). This method was used successfully by Wilkie in her discussion of enslaved and free-black families in a rural parish of Louisiana (Wilkie 2000). In her book, Wilkie presents in detail the archaeological record of several house sites and then discusses, using documentary, oral, and archaeological data, reformulations of identity by these families.

As with Riggs's analysis, my research incorporates pre- and post-removal data. These comparisons illuminate the similarities and differences in material culture used during and after removal by households comprised of different racial, ethnic, and class backgrounds.

CHAPTER 3

WELCH SITE ARCHAEOLOGY

The search for the Welch house site began in the early 1990s by Brett Riggs during his dissertation fieldwork (1999). I participated in some of this fieldwork, which was guided by the 1837 army survey maps of the Valley River. Unfortunately, this section was poorly mapped, and the site location remained undiscovered.

In 2002, a colleague provided me with a copy of the 1860 gold survey map (Blake 1860; Figure 4). A comparison of the Civil War era map with a modern aerial photograph of the area revealed a striking similarity between the course of the turnpike circa 1860 and a modern property boundary/wood line (Figure 5). If the property boundary corresponded to the turnpike, it marked the location of the Welch house.

Soon after, Riggs and I drove from Chapel Hill to the Valley River on an unrelated matter. We approached Jim and Jeanette Wilson, a couple who owned a large farm on which we suspected the Welch site to reside. The couple, retired school teachers, loved local history and was very interested in our project. They welcomed us and provided complete access to their land. We first walked to the property boundary we thought might correspond to the Western Turnpike. There we found that the fence line of the property boundary was built in a linear, U-shaped trench, the remnant of an antebellum roadbed. We then walked to the area which seemed to correspond to the house site, and found it to be a large, level field overlooking the Valley River Valley. Unfortunately, we did not have the time or equipment to investigate further, and our speculations remained unresolved.

In August 2003, I returned to the Valley River to test the site. I was joined by Scott Shumate, a friend and colleague with years of experience on historic sites. Metal detector in hand, we began a survey in the field which Riggs and I had determined was the site location. Through the shovel test

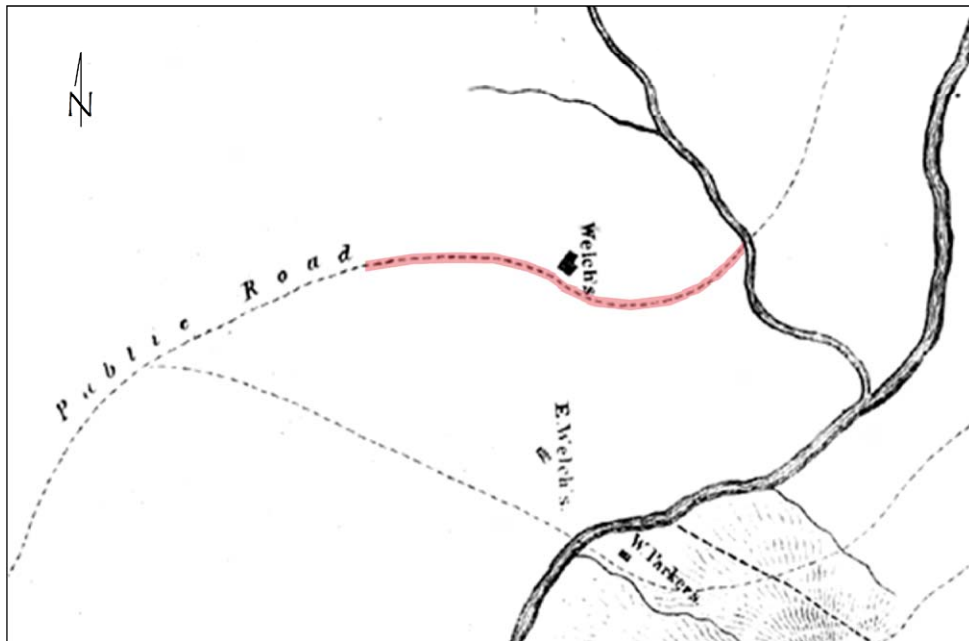


Figure 4. Section of 1860 gold survey on Valley River, showing Welch house and segment of Western Turnpike (highlighted in red).

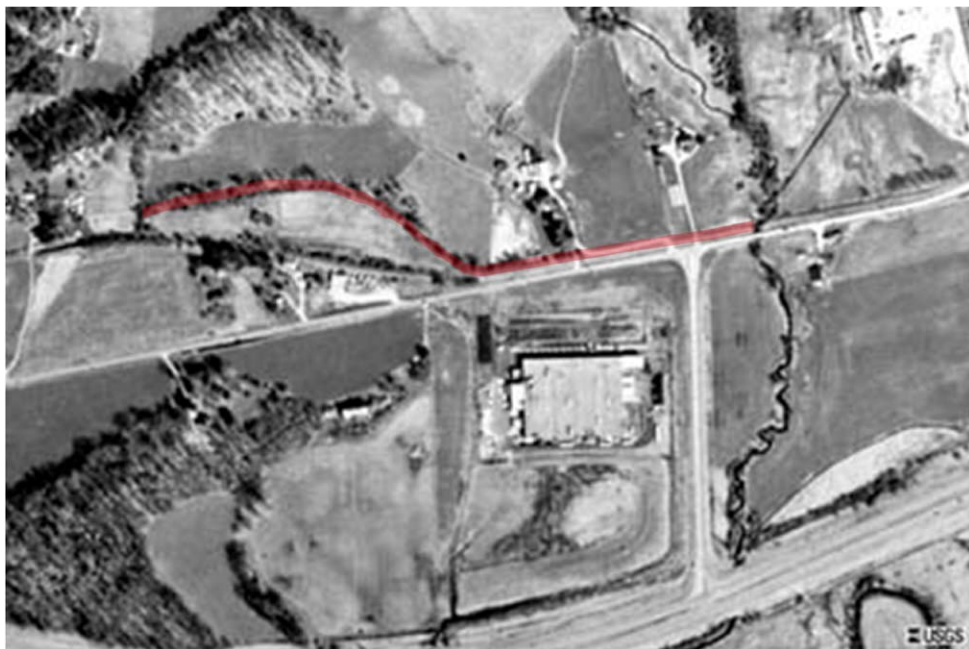


Figure 5. Aerial photograph showing segment of Western Turnpike (highlighted in red).

excavations of these metal "hits," we recovered several cut nails and fragments of cast iron vessels, dating to the early or mid nineteenth century. The soil profile in most of the shovel test pits was plowzone overlaying sterile clay subsoil. However, in one shovel test pit we observed a dark soil subjacent to the plowzone. We expanded the shovel test into a 50 x 50 cm square unit, revealing that the darker soil extended in all directions. Artifacts exposed on the surface of the buried feature included whiteware sherds, colorless container glass, and a small pocket knife. We speculated the feature was a cellar pit beneath the main house occupied by the Welch family during the mid nineteenth century.

I subsequently received fieldwork grants through the Wenner-Gren Foundation and the University of North Carolina, and in August 2004, began excavations on the site (Figures 6, 7). The most intensive excavation to date was in that month. I and three other archaeologists excavated a small block area over the feature Shumate and I had located. We soon found that there were three pits. These features were aligned cellar pits that contained a large number and variety of material associated with a single, brief depositional event that dated to approximately 1850 (Figures 8, 9). We also exposed a fourth feature, a narrow trench that had been excavated in the early twentieth century to lay water pipe. The trench intruded into features 1 and 2, and artifact-rich fill from these two features were incorporated into Feature 4 fill. No artifacts postdating 1850 were present within the trench fill, and the artifacts recovered from it are included in this study. We completely excavated features 1, 2, and 3, and the section of Feature 4 included within the bounds of our excavation block (Figures 10-12). There was no place nearby to process the soil, and all feature fill, totaling 1350 liters of soil, was transported back to Chapel Hill where it was processed at the RLA facilities. The majority of feature fill was water-screened through 0.625 inch (1.6 mm) screen. A minimum of 25 liters of fill from each soil zone was processed through flotation, recovering a large and diverse collection of floral remains. The artifact assemblages from these four pits comprise the archaeological data set for this research (Appendices A-C). The entirety of ceramics and fauna from features 1-4 were analyzed and are presented in Appendix A and C, respectively. The entire faunal assemblage



Figure 6. Welch site, facing southeast.

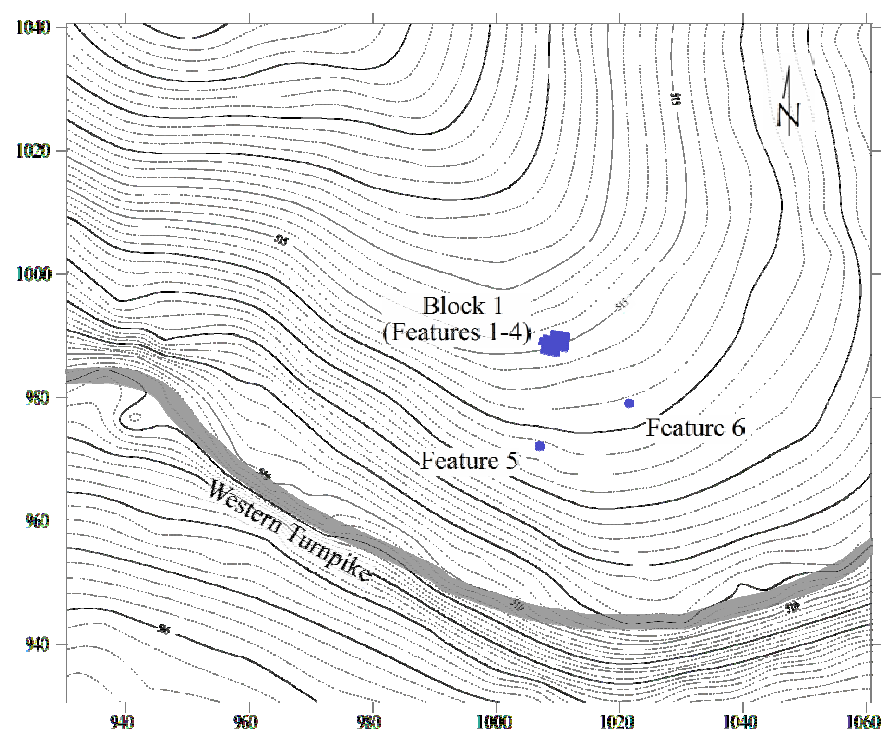


Figure 7. Plan view drawing of Welch site excavations (courtesy of Brett Riggs).



Figure 8. Plan view photograph of Block 1 excavations.

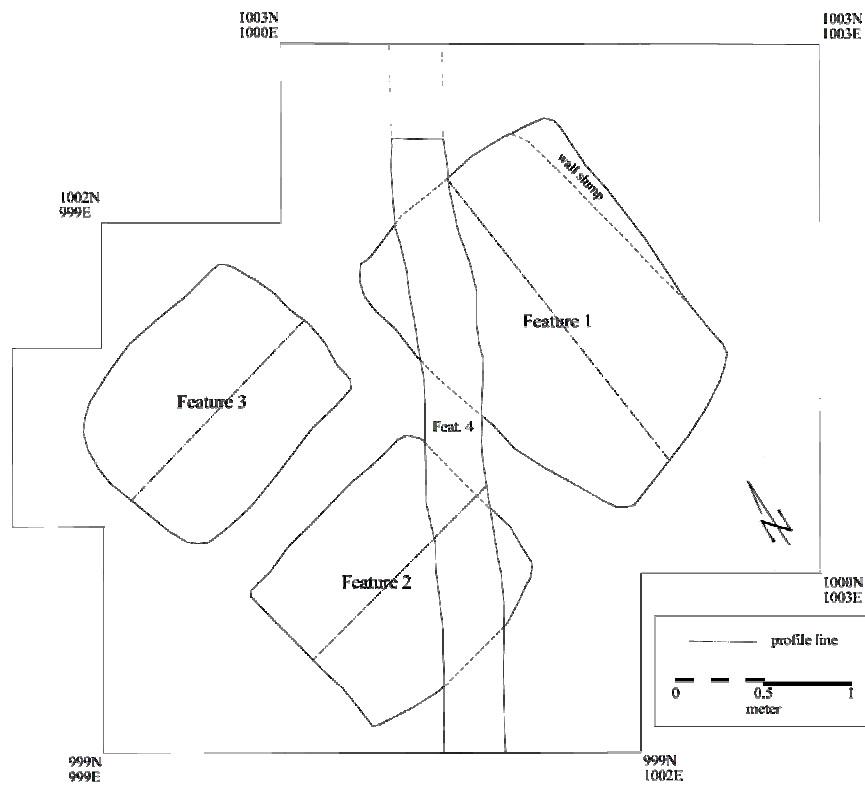


Figure 9. Plan view drawing of Block 1 excavations.

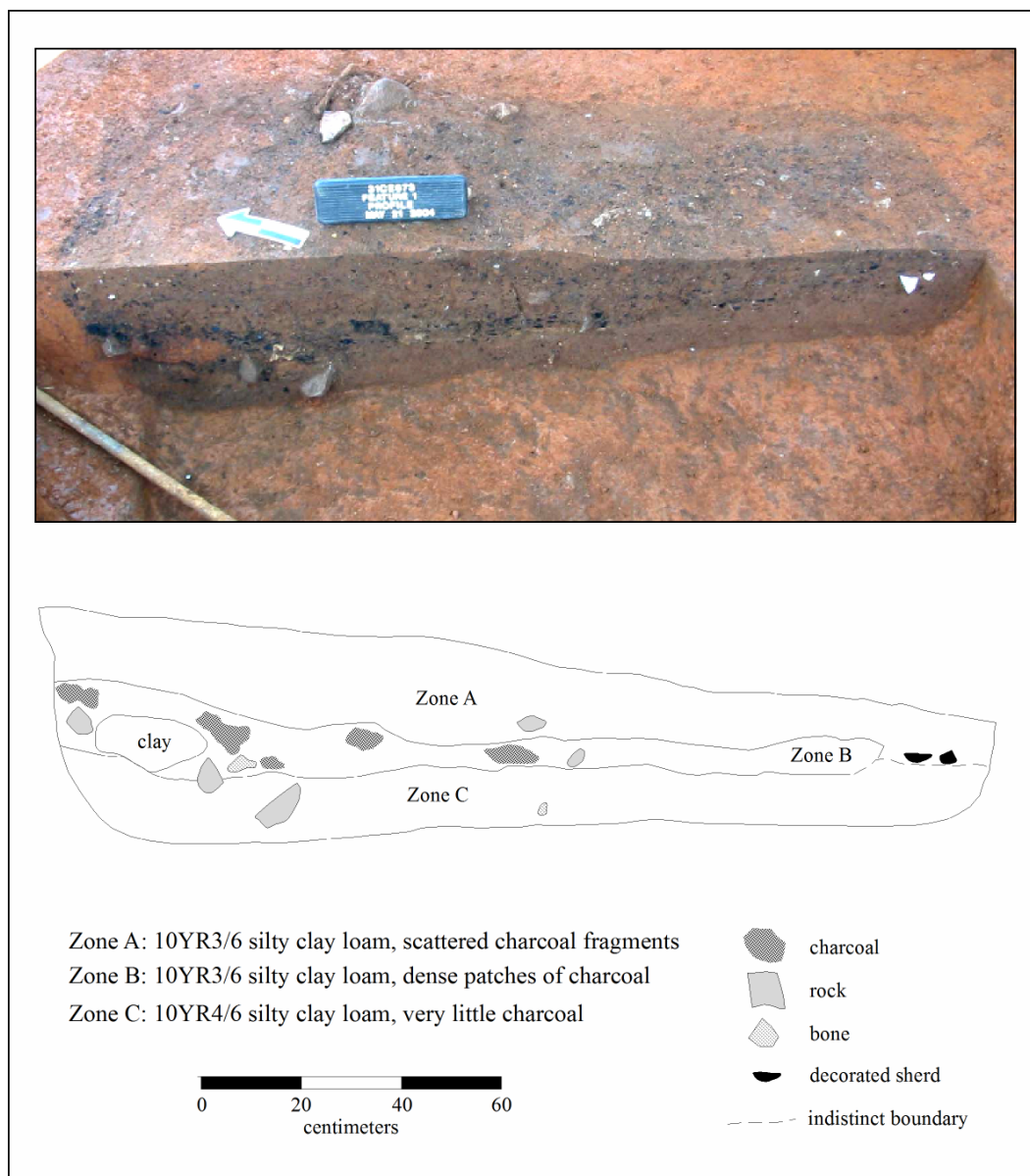


Figure 10. Profile of Feature 1.

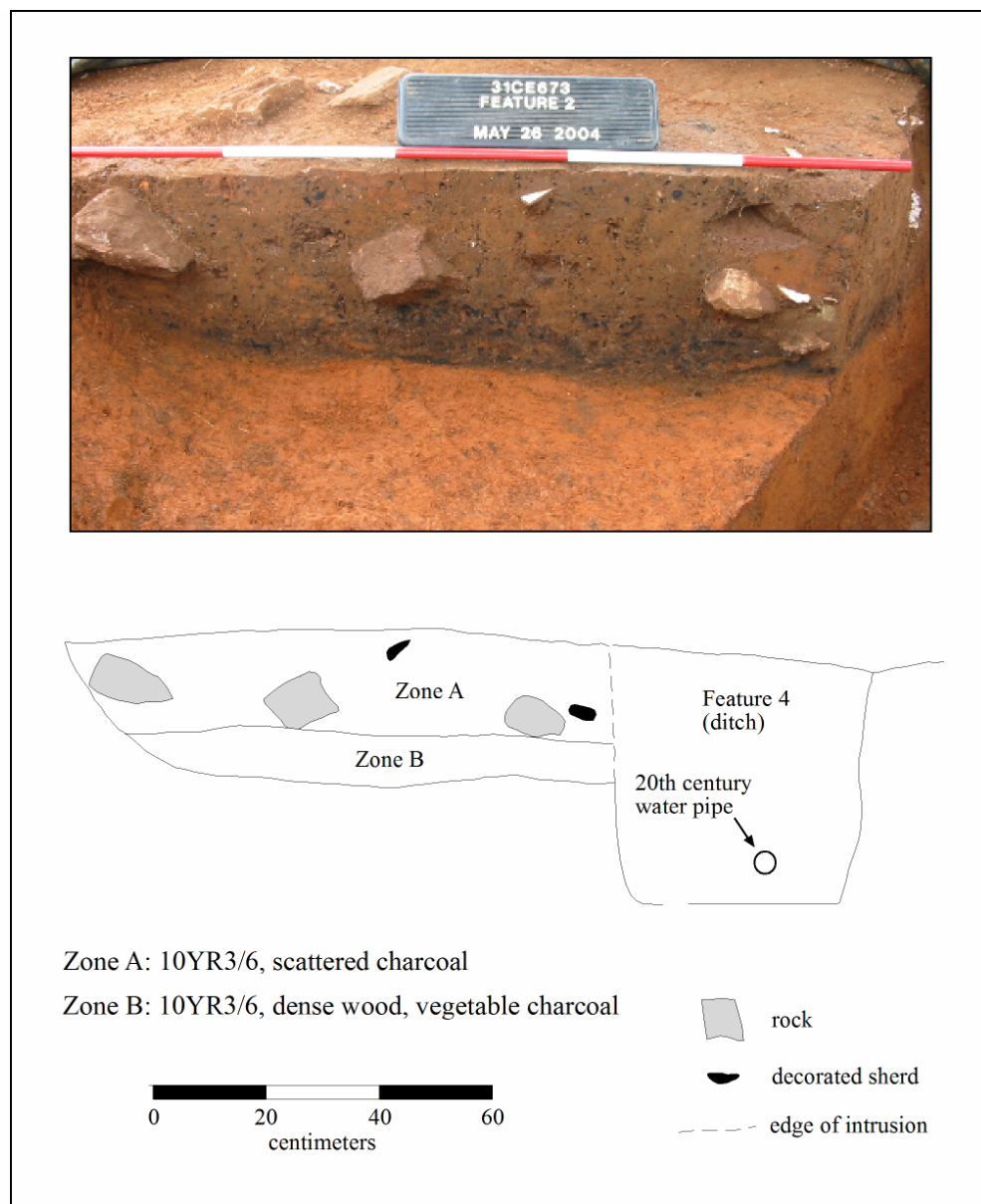


Figure 11. Profile of Feature 2.

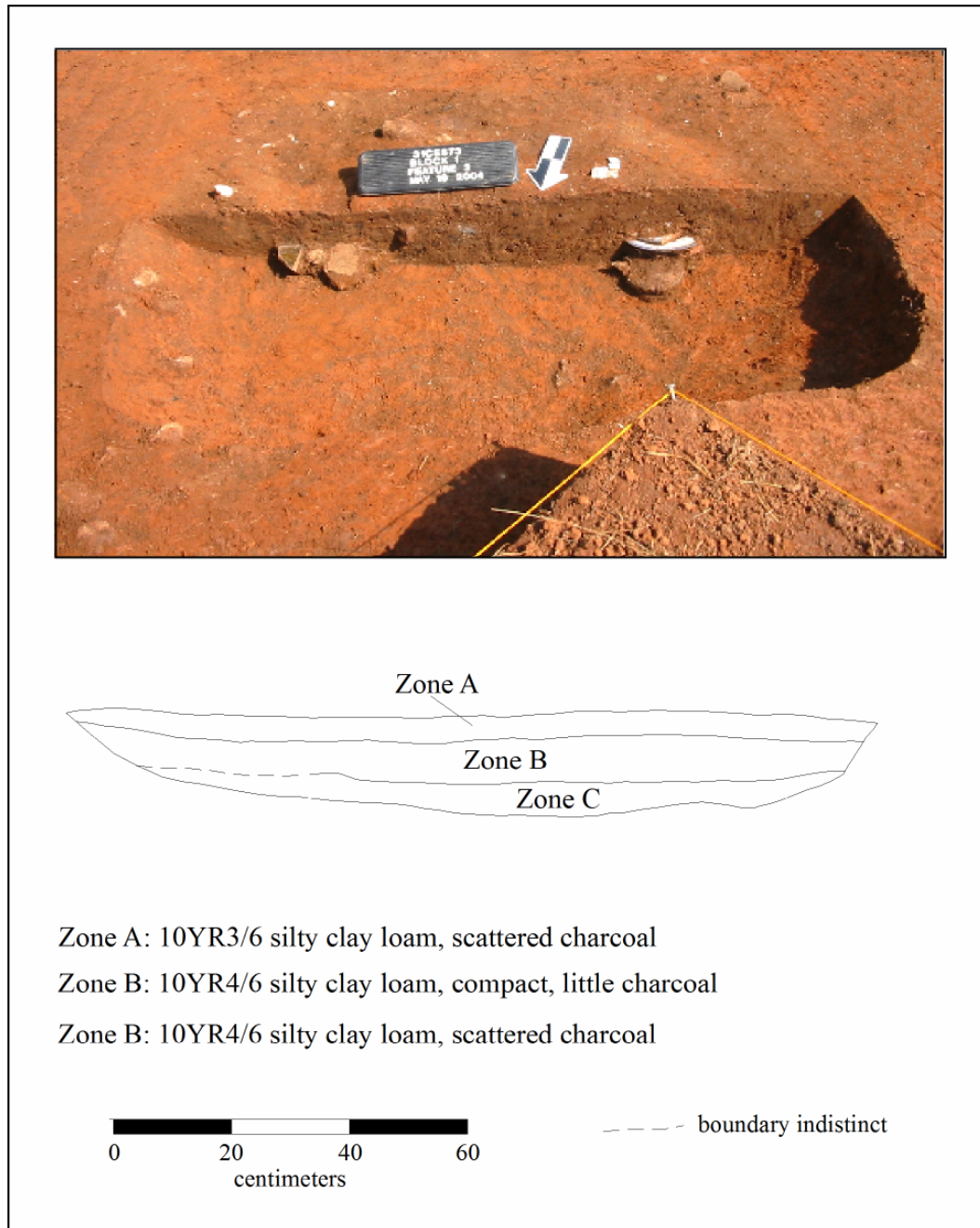


Figure 12. Profile of Feature 3.

was analyzed by Dr. Tom Whyte of Appalachian State University. Appendix B presents the floral analysis of Feature 2, Zone 3. This analysis, performed by Rob Cuthrell (2005), consists of a 25 percent sample of 100 liters of fill from this provenience that was processed through flotation, and therefore represents the floral remains recovered from a 25 liter sample of feature fill.

Over the course of the next two years, I returned to the site several times to perform small-scale shovel test excavations and metal detector surveys; several subsurface pit features were identified with these techniques. In March and April 2006, we performed more extensive excavations. Again with the help of several archaeologists, I excavated two features. Feature 5 was a well. Scott Shumate received the dubious honor of excavating this feature; wells are notoriously prone to collapse. He excavated the south half of the feature to 0.90 meters below ground surface. At this point, Shumate noticed the floor of the pit felt unstable, and we immediately quit excavating. We then excavated another pit roughly 13 meters northeast of the well. Excavation of a small block area revealed a large cellar pit, Feature 6. We determined that the pit was beneath the old, original main structure. The pit had been situated near the chimney, and, in association with the other features, provided us with a detailed layout of the house and yard lot. The pit was completely excavated and contained a rich artifact assemblage. However, the pit contained artifacts dating from the 1830s through the 1920s, including a 1918 penny. During these excavations, soil from features 5 and 6 were driven to a water-screen rig erected along Welch Mill Creek, and the soils were screened through fine mesh. Soil samples were also retained from each stratum for flotation, a technique to recover floral remains, at the archaeological facilities at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. Features 5 and 6 are central to determining site layout and usage. However, the artifact assemblages from these two pits were temporally mixed with late nineteenth and early twentieth century deposits and are therefore not used in this study.

CHAPTER 4

HISTORICAL SETTING

The historical depth of Cherokee presence in the southern Appalachian region has been debated for decades by historians and archaeologists (Lounsbury 1961; Mooney 1982; Schroedl 1986a). Linguistically, the Cherokees are Iroquoian; linguists have suggested the split from the northern Iroquois occurred approximately 3,500 years ago (Lounsbury 1961). If this division coincided with an emigration to the Southeast, Cherokee arrival in the region would be related to the Late Archaic archaeological period, which dates from 3000 to 1000 B.C. in the southern Appalachians (Ward and Davis 1999:70-72). Archaeologists have long debated theories of cultural replacement versus continuity to explain the presence of Cherokees in the Southern Appalachians at the end of the seventeenth century (e.g. Coe 1961; Dickens 1979; Harrington 1922; Lewis and Kneberg 1946; Moore 1986; Schroedl 1986a). Although ethnic affiliations of Indian populations in the southern Appalachians during the prehistoric era are poorly understood, it is clear that the Cherokees occupied the area when the Spanish arrived in the sixteenth century. The routes of the early Spanish entradas through the region are poorly defined, and the ethnicity of Indian groups encountered by Spanish chroniclers is vague (Hudson 1990; Swanton 1939). However, Cherokee ceramics, termed the Qualla series by archaeologists, began to appear in the southern Appalachians prior to the Spanish entradas (Ward and Davis 1999:178-193). The production of this ceramic series continued, unbroken, until at least the early twentieth century (Fewkes 1944; Harrington 1908; Keel 1976; Schroedl 1986b).

Detailed information regarding the location of Cherokees first appears in British records during the late seventeenth century (Corkran 1962). By 1670, British traders from Charleston, South Carolina, were visiting Cherokee towns along the Keowee River. By 1700 these traders were visiting Cherokees in the southern Appalachian Mountains and the Ridge and Valley province of modern-day

western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee, respectively (Crane 1929; Mooney 1982). With more sustained contact by the 1720s, British traders and diplomats documented that the Cherokees were divided into five settlements: the Lower, Middle, Valley, Out, and Overhill groups (Corkran 1962; McLoughlin 1992:9). Each geographically-defined settlement contained several towns, villages, hamlets, and farmsteads (Riggs 1999:49). Political control was based at the town level; each town functioned as a discrete governmental body. However, sometimes several towns or an entire settlement joined together, usually on decisions that related to external affairs (Corkran 1962).

The Valley Towns included the modern-day area of extreme southwestern North Carolina and northern Georgia. Cherokee towns were built on the upper Hiwassee, Valley, and Nottely rivers (McLoughlin 1992:9). This area contained several British traders by 1720 (Crane 1929; Rothrock 1929). Sustained British contact quickly affected Cherokee life here and in the other settlements. The initial effect was an influx of European goods such as steel tools (e.g. knives and axes), firearms, brass kettles, cloth and clothing, glass beads, and liquor (McLoughlin 1992; Riggs 1999:50). The secondary effects altered all aspects of Cherokee society. To purchase such items, Cherokees became enmeshed in the market economy, particularly in the deerskin trade and Indian slavery (Corkran 1962; McLoughlin 1992). The Cherokees became increasingly dependent on the British for imported goods. In addition, the British introduced several diseases to which the Cherokees had no immunity; most devastating was smallpox. An epidemic in 1738 killed as much as half the entire Cherokee population (Adair 1930; McLoughlin 1992:3; Wood 1989). Such epidemics devastated Cherokee populations, causing many hamlets and villages to disappear and a widespread retrenchment of Cherokee settlements (Schroedl and Riggs 1989).

By mid century, numerous British traders were living in Cherokee towns, many married to Cherokee women. In some ways, the imported material culture and activities performed to acquire them were incorporated into traditional Cherokee economic and social patterns. The deerskin trade accentuated the standard Cherokee gender roles of male hunting and female agriculture. Many imported items replaced handmade ones: certain styles of ceramic bowls were replaced by brass and

tin kettles, lithic tools were replaced by iron or steel ones, and the bow and arrow was replaced by the firearm (Riggs 1999:52).

Dependence on the British led the Cherokee to ally with them in the struggle for colonial control. Although the Overhill Cherokees had French sympathies, the other Cherokee settlements largely sided with the British. However, widespread abuses by British traders caused open hostilities between the two groups in 1760. That year, the British enacted a trade embargo against the Cherokee, depriving them of needed goods, including firearms and ammunition. In 1760 and 1761, a series of military attacks by British troops devastated Cherokee towns in the Lower and Middle settlements; the Valley Towns were overwhelmed by refugees. Although hostilities with the British ended in 1761, the defeat of the French in 1763 reduced the military and political power of the Cherokees (Corkran 1962). During this period, another long-term effect of the extended presence of British traders became apparent: an expanding population of "mixed blood" Cherokees. This group, who often married whites, was recognized by whites and some Cherokees as a new entity: most "mixed bloods" were the children of British men and Cherokee women, and therefore, from a traditional Cherokee standpoint, were Cherokees with clan affiliation. However, many members of this group behaved more like British traders, acquiring extensive personal wealth. The disparities between traditional and western ideologies would evolve into one of the leading issues of intratribal disputes in the following decades. More immediate were other changes wrought by traders: in addition to European goods, they introduced European animals and plants, including horses, cattle, pigs, and chickens, as well as apples, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, cowpeas, cabbage, and turnips (Riggs 1999:53). Most Cherokees incorporated these into traditional methods of subsistence.

At the beginning of the Revolutionary War, the Cherokees allied once again with the British. American forces struck with severe military might against all of the settlements. In 1776, an expedition led by Major James Rutherford attacked the Valley Towns, destroying houses, crops, and livestock (Mooney 1982:49). Numerous Cherokees died the following winter from starvation and exposure. The Americans also blockaded the import of British goods. These two events forced

Cherokee surrender; in 1777 a peace treaty was signed (McLoughlin 1992:19-20). A stipulation was the cession of a large portion of Cherokee land in modern-day eastern Tennessee, which initiated a long series of peace-treaty and land-cession deals between the Cherokees and Americans (Royce 1975). A militant group of Cherokees who rejected the land cession separated from the Cherokee settlements, settling along Chickamauga Creek in the area of modern-day Chattanooga. The Chickamaugas continued to attack American settlements, particularly those built on the ceded land in eastern Tennessee. Fighting, led by Dragging Canoe, continued until their defeat by American militia units in 1794.

The end of the eighteenth century was an extremely difficult period for the Cherokees. Loss of land and of income from the collapse of the deerskin trade, a growing class that embraced Western society, and an influx of whites around tribal lands, resulted in economic poverty and cultural disorientation. In addition, there was a growing separation between the Lower Cherokees (along the Tennessee River between Chattanooga and Muscle Shoals) and the Upper Cherokees (on the Tennessee River drainages north of the Hiwassee River) (McLoughlin 1992).

The Cherokee surrender in 1794 resulted in a federal policy of "civilization," often carried out by missionaries. During this period, roughly 1795-1810, western acculturation increased in Cherokee towns as a growing number participated in western economic and social practices (Mooney 1982). Cherokee agents and missionaries pressured them to embrace western farming, market involvement, and Christianity. In contrast to activities such as the deerskin trade, these flew in the face of both corporate behavior and traditional gender roles. Many Cherokee men refused to abandon winter hunts or a varied subsistence pattern of hunting, fishing, and traditional styles of farming, or to practice western agriculture with plow technology and a focus on surplus production and wealth accumulation. Many Cherokee women saw the transfer of farming and gardening to men as an attack not only on their right to produce food, but also as a rejection of the woman's ownership of the house and household items. By the early nineteenth century, these tensions between traditional Cherokees and those more westernized became more prominent (Finger 1984; McLoughlin 1990).

In 1803, Thomas Jefferson formally initiated Indian removal policies. Although Jefferson originally planned to convert Indians into yeoman farmers, he concluded that the plan would take too long, and the possibility of westward emigration became more feasible with the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. Although Jefferson's removal plans were never realized, his idea was seized by every successive president until the goal was largely accomplished under the Van Buren presidency. Partly in response to these pressures, a split appeared between the Cherokee Upper and Lower towns early in the century. The dispute was settled in 1807 during a joint council meeting. At that meeting, a national committee was formed in an effort to stop land cessions to the United States. The group created a legal code that made land cession a capital offense. The council also outlawed traditional clan revenge (McLoughlin 1992:157-162). These two actions by the newly formed national government foretold of changes to come. The first was aimed at an external group: making the selling of land punishable by death, an act that most Cherokees supported. The second was internal: illegalizing clan revenge was a rejection of the traditional code that placed social controls at the clan level, an act rejected by the vast majority of Cherokees (McLoughlin 1992).

Although the Cherokees were popularly known then (and now) as the "civilized tribe," "beneath the upper socioeconomic level was a surprisingly durable stratum of traditionalism, especially in North Carolina" (Finger 1984:9). The laws of the Cherokee Nation had initially served to maintain tribal lands. As the laws began to turn inward, traditional Cherokees resisted. Laws against traditional Cherokee practices, many of which stripped towns of their traditional authority and altered gender roles, alienated traditional Cherokees (McLoughlin 1992). A rejection of national governance was reflected in the voluntary emigration of Cherokees during the period of government formalization — several groups, totaling perhaps 3,000 individuals, went west between 1809 and 1817 (Mooney 1982:102). Another 91 Cherokee families took reservations under the acts of the 1817 and 1819 treaties (Jurgelski 2004; Riggs 1988). Most of these latter Cherokees were forcibly ejected from their reservations or threatened and bought out by whites moving into the area. Most moved back to the

northern section of the Cherokee Nation (e.g. along the Hiwassee, Valley, and Cheoah rivers) or settled at the Qualla Towns, outside tribal boundaries (Jurgelski 2004).

The state of Georgia, which had signed the "Georgia Compact" with Thomas Jefferson in 1802 to rid the state of Cherokees, redoubled its efforts when gold was discovered there in 1829. The subsequent mass ejection from Georgia was a crisis for the Cherokees: a vast portion of the remaining national lands was gone, and Cherokee refugees flooded the other parts of the tribal holdings. Andrew Jackson wholeheartedly supported states rights and Indian removal. With his election to the presidency in 1824, Indians in the Southern United States became viewed by the federal government, as well as by much of the white public, as a hindrance to national expansion. The Indian Removal Act of 1830, initiated by Jackson, became official policy and was instituted that year (Satz 2002). The strongly refuted and fraudulent Treaty of New Echota, signed in December 1835, stipulated mandatory Cherokee emigration in the spring of 1838. The forced emigration of the Cherokees and other major Southern tribes constituted a divergence from democratic ideals for the United States, and recognized then and now as such.

CHAPTER 5

"THE DARKEST PART OF THE NATION": MODERNIZATION ON VALLEY RIVER (1835-1838)

We continued our course S.W. down the [Valley River] valley on the right bank of the stream, the valley enlarging to a mile of rich bottom land surrounded by lofty and picturesque hills covered with fine woods. This was the Paradise of the Cherokees, their wigwams being built on graceful knolls rising above the level of the river bottom, each of them having its patch of Indian corn with indigenous beans climbing to the top of each plant, and squashes and pumpkins growing on the ground. The valley now contracted as we advanced, but contained a great many thousand acres of the most fertile land. Any thing much more beautiful than this fine scene can scarcely be imagined; two noble lines of mountains enclosing a fertile valley with a lovely stream running through it [Featherstonaugh 1847:284].

The owl, it was said, seated himself on the limb, by the side of the fowl he intended to devour. He then pushed the fowl farther and farther towards the end of the limb, till at length it fell to the ground, when he sprang upon it, and seized it for his prey. Thus, it was said, the whites must do with the Indians [Butrick, in JH Payne papers, 1838, vol. 9:57].

I collected yesterday about 80 Indians. They had all received orders from Welch on Valley River to leave home & take to the mountains [Bynum 1838a].

At the time of removal the Cherokee population in western North Carolina was identified by the army as predominantly "fullblood." Ten years earlier, Evan Jones had described the area as the "darkest part of the nation," encompassing in a single phrase how most whites viewed the area and its Cherokee inhabitants: dark, isolated mountains, "fullblood" Cherokees with dark skin, and their reluctance to adopt western practices (Jones 1826). Jones's statement included the Valley River region of North Carolina. In the early 1820s, when the Welch family moved to Valley River, the area was one of the most isolated and conservative parts of the Cherokee Nation. A ring of steep-sided mountains — the Snowbird Mountains to the north and west, the Valley River Mountains to the south, and the Nantahala Mountains to the east — geographically isolated the region. A cluster of Cherokee communities, known as the Valley Towns, were settled in close proximity around the head of the Valley River. These towns were a traditionalist stronghold; the mountainous portion of the Cherokee Nation in 1838 was the only land the Cherokees had held continuously since European

contact (Mooney 1982). During the 1820s and 1830s, the local headman was Culsatahee, or Old Hog. Although a large Cherokee population lived here, roads were generally narrow and ill-kept, largely inaccessible by wagon. Few whites ventured into the area.

Along with the Welches, several other "métis" Cherokee and intermarried whites had moved into the area in the early 1820s. Comprising roughly one percent of the Cherokee population in southwestern North Carolina, these individuals nonetheless had significant social and economic power. As in the other parts of the Cherokee Nation, this group controlled a large portion of the land and chattel wealth. John and Betty Welch were among the wealthiest of these families in North Carolina, as were their neighbors and associates Gideon and Rebecca Morris, who lived just upriver. Rebecca Morris was a "fullblood" Cherokee woman; her siblings included Junaluska and Wachacha. Both brothers lived in the Valley Towns. Junaluska was well known in the Cherokee Nation as a powerful headman and as the hero of the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. Wachacha was too young to have fought in the Redstick War, but was nonetheless well respected. These four families had been closely aligned since at least 1819 when they had all been reservees; they would continue to work closely together to subvert the removal of their communities.

Prior to 1836, most in the Cherokee Nation did not seriously consider the possibility of forced emigration. Unlike the other tribes that had recently been removed, at least a portion of the Cherokees had exhibited a willingness and ability to conform to white views of civilization in aspects of law, religion, and society. In addition, the Cherokees had numerous legal representatives in Washington D.C., where they found many sympathetic to their cause. However, these accomplishments ultimately meant little in the face of a southern planter president acting in a climate openly hostile to non-whites and non-citizens. Jackson moved swiftly to enforce the emigration: a coerced treaty, a complete census, a detailed inventory of agricultural improvements and natural resources, a topographic and infrastructural survey, the creation of discrete property boundaries, military occupation, and forced emigration were performed sequentially in the span of three years. These efforts represented the total

modernization of a large, bounded tract and of the inhabitants therein. Within a year after removal, the white population, adhering to the tenets of capitalism and Christianity, rapidly expanded.

By the summer of 1838, federal troops and state militia were posted at several forts in southwestern North Carolina (Finger 1991:102). Their task was to remove all Cherokees (excepting the Qualla Town residents) from the region. However, almost one-third of the Cherokees in North Carolina avoided removal, either through tentative government permission, or through active resistance in the form of fleeing into the mountains for several months, until the occupying forces withdrew (Finger 1984:29). Their decision to remain, even in the face of tremendous loss, was sustained through not only a desire to stay in the land of their birth, but also their allegiance to traditional town structures. The Welches shared this belief, and worked to keep surrounding Cherokee communities intact. Cherokees continued to maintain traditional social and governmental structures in the Qualla Towns, Welch's Town, Buffalo Town, Sand Town, and in other, smaller communities. The following sections tell both how the United States government, under the direction of Andrew Jackson, instituted a design plan for modernization of a land and its people, and how a group of traditional Cherokees, including the Welches, partially subverted these ideals.

Modernization

Modernization of the lands previously within the boundaries of the Cherokee Nation was achieved through a series of steps which legitimized, in the eyes of the state, the takeover, sale, and settlement of said lands. The initial steps were performed by the United States army and state militia, followed by tasks performed by civil servants. A narrative of the processes of modernization is presented, followed by a discussion of the impact of removal on the Welch family and other Cherokees who remained in the area.

The Henderson roll and racial classification (1835)

The first task in modernization of the lands within the Cherokee Nation was identification of the people inhabiting the area, in preparation for their removal. By the beginning of 1835, the Cherokee Nation was one of the last large tribal groups remaining in the Southeast (Swanton 1979:79-80). In

preparation for Cherokee removal, the government authorized a detailed census of all Cherokees east. By the summer, removal agents Benjamin Currey and John Schermerhorn were working furiously to negotiate a removal treaty with the Cherokees. The census, often referred to as the Henderson roll after David Henderson, the enumerating agent for Tennessee, began in June 1835, seven months before the signing of the New Echota Treaty (Litton 1940). A census taker was assigned for each state containing part of the Cherokee Nation. In North Carolina, Nathaniel Smith, an army officer, took the census, assisted by two local men living in the Cherokee Nation: John Timson, a Cherokee, and Preston Starrett, married to a Cherokee woman (McLoughlin 1990:42; Riggs 1996:20-21). Racial categories used by Smith and the other census takers represented current perceptions of race in Washington D.C. and included "fullblood," "half blood," "quadroon," African Cherokees, intermarried whites, and black slaves (United States War Department 1835). This system of rigid racial construction was unfamiliar to the North Carolina Cherokees (see chapter 1). Smith, unfamiliar with the region or the Cherokee, depended on Starrett and Timson to help him classify each household. Even with their assistance, the task included constant conjecture, particularly with the presence of a small number of people in the region with admixtures of Creek, Catawba, Natchez, Spanish, African, and European descent. All of these individuals were lumped into one of the previous six categories or, in a few cases, excluded from the roll.

The 1835 Henderson roll lists 3,436 individuals living in that portion of the Cherokee Nation within the boundaries of North Carolina (United States War Department 1835; Riggs 1996:22-26). "Fullblood" Cherokees comprised almost 90 percent of the North Carolina population. In many areas, such as in the communities in the Cheoah River Valley, 100 percent of the population earned the "fullblood" Cherokee designation (United States War Department 1835; Riggs 1996). Nearly 10 percent was labeled as various forms of "métis" Cherokee, which included marriages of Cherokees and whites. Cherokees married to people of African descent were listed as African Cherokees, regardless of perceived blood quantum; by the mid 1830s the federal government had accepted the theory of hypodescent. African-Cherokee marriage was still practiced in Cherokee society, although

in decreasing numbers (Welch and Jarrett 1837). Smith also recorded 22 intermarried whites, 23 people of African Cherokee descent, and 37 slaves, representing less than three percent of the population.

The Treaty of New Echota (December 1835)

After the creation of a census, the next step in modernization was to acquire congressional approval for removal of the non-citizens in the region. The infamous Treaty of New Echota, signed in December 1835 by removal agents and a tiny minority group of Cherokee leaders, has been discussed in numerous publications (e.g. Mooney 1982:123-126; Royce 1975; Wilkins 1986). The Cherokee signers, who became known as the Treaty Party, were immediately hailed by Chief Ross and most in the Nation as traitors. By signing away tribal land, they broke one of the original laws of the Cherokee Nation; many of them would pay the ultimate price for their actions. Once the contentious New Echota treaty was signed, Jackson wasted no time in implementing the treaty articles. Prior to sending the treaty to Congress, however, he carefully reviewed the document. While several of the articles clearly stipulated Jackson's goals of ceding all tribal lands in the east for a similar acreage in the west and five million dollars, the Treaty Party added others. Of particular importance for the Cherokees in North Carolina were articles 12 and 13. Article 12 began:

Such Cherokees as are averse to removal west of the Mississippi and desire to become citizens of the States where they reside, if qualified to take care of themselves and their property, shall receive their proportion of all the personal benefits accruing under this treaty for claims, improvements, and per capita. Such heads of Cherokee families as desire to reside within the States of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Alabama, subject to the laws thereof and qualified to become useful citizens, shall be entitled to a pre-emption right of 160 acres at the minimum Congress price, to include their improvements [Royce 1975:127].

Article 13 discussed reservee rights stemming from the 1817 and 1819 treaties, and began:

All Cherokees and their heirs to whom reservations had been made by any previous treaty, and who had not sold or disposed of the same, such reservations being subsequently sold by the United States should be entitled to receive the present value thereof from the United States as unimproved lands...All persons entitled to reservations under treaty of 1817, whose reservations, as selected, were included by the treaty of 1819 in the unceded lands of the Cherokee Nation, shall be entitled to a grant for the same [Royce 1975:127].

As provided by the original treaty signed by the Treaty Party, then, Cherokees who wished to remain in the east could do so, and would receive 160 acres in return for accepting citizenship within

their state of residence. The 1817 and 1819 treaties contained similar articles, and nearly 100 families had made this choice, including the Welches, Morrisses, and Junaluska (Jurgelski 2004; Riggs 1988). Most of these reservee families, at the time of removal, had relocated to the Qualla Towns or to tributaries of the Hiwassee and Cheoah rivers, including the Valley River (Jurgelski 2004:233-248; Riggs 1988:18). Article 13 financially compensated these families for the loss of their property as provided in the earlier treaty. The original version of the treaty, which contained these articles, was signed on December 29, 1835. Schermerhorn quickly hailed his talks and the treaty a success, partly because "the Lord is able to overrule all things for good" (Royce 1975:158).

Obviously, the signers of the 1835 treaty assumed that those families who wished would have the option to remain in their homeland, albeit surrounded by white settlers. However, Jackson balked at this scenario. He, as much as anyone, embraced the idea of all members of the Southern tribes being congregated in the west. In a bold, unconstitutional move, Jackson unilaterally rewrote large portions of the treaty, including the striking of articles 12 and 13, before sending it to Congress (Royce 1975:129, 160). This quickly led to sustained confusion and tension between Cherokee leaders and government agents, as well as to deepening schisms within the Cherokee Nation.

The modified treaty was ratified by Congress on May 23, 1836. With document in hand, Jackson quickly began organizing the removal. Article 16 of the treaty stipulated that removal must occur within two years of ratification (May 23, 1838), and Jackson was determined to meet the deadline (Royce 1975:128). Cherokee agents in the field and local whites in southwestern North Carolina, keenly aware of the violence in the recent Seminole War, were wary of Cherokee resistance and discussed the possibility of armed Cherokee uprisings in the mountains (McLoughlin 1990:138-139).

Military occupation (July 1836)

With congressional approval fraudulently acquired, the next task in modernization, military occupation of the region, began. Jackson heard the rumors of impending Cherokee violence. Needing little prodding for military intervention, he dispatched General John Wool to the Cherokee Nation in June 1836. He arrived with roughly 2,000 men in the Valley Towns in July (McLoughlin 1990:139;

Riggs 1996:17). Once on the ground, General Wool initially took the rumors of an impending Cherokee uprising at face value and instituted harsh measures to prevent it. He confiscated the firearms of Cherokees in the region (McLoughlin 1990:139-141). Although the treaty ratification and Wool's tactics made many Cherokees believe they were about to be forcefully removed, they continued to put faith in Chief Ross, who continued his efforts in Washington D.C. to slow or halt removal. Ross advised them to refuse to acknowledge the treaty. Supported by local headmen and religious leaders such as Situagi, Peter Oganaya, Wickliffe, and Evan Jones, the Cherokees in the mountains largely heeded Ross's advice (McLoughlin 1990:133). By the end of the summer, Wool realized his heavy handed tactics were unwarranted; the Cherokees refused to remove, but their resistance was in the form of noncompliance.

The timing of the treaty ratification in May 1836 and Wool's subsequent military actions had serious repercussions in southwestern North Carolina. Many Cherokees in the mountains assumed ratification meant they would be forcefully removed immediately; many families did not plant crops, for fear they would be out west by the time they were ready for harvest. While Wool confiscated firearms to prevent uprisings, in reality it hindered the ability of the Cherokees to hunt for wild game. These combined actions made the threat of starvation very real for many Cherokee families by the summer of 1836. Wool realized the danger. He offered the Cherokees provisions, which they refused:

Those in the mountains of North Carolina during the summer past, preferred living upon the roots and sap of trees rather than receive provisions from the United States ... Many have said they will die before they will leave the country [Wool 1837].

This prophetic statement was one of Wool's last in the mountains. At his own request, he was reassigned in May 1837, and Colonel William Lindsay took command of operations (Royce 1975: 167).

While Colonel Lindsay took over control of federal troops, troops from the Tennessee militia patrolled southwestern North Carolina, considered a potential hotbed of violent resistance. So far North Carolina had mustered no troops. Throughout 1837, the Tennessee militia and federal troops policed the region. The two-year deadline for removal had not yet arrived, and the soldiers' tasks

involved convincing the Cherokees to remove peacefully and maintaining order between the Cherokees and the recent influx of whites. White settlers had reacted to the ratification of the treaty as quickly as had the Cherokees. By the summer of 1837 several white families lived on Valley River, technically still Cherokee land (Powell 1837).

Valuation of Cherokee holdings (1836-1837)

The next step in modernization was to inventory natural and manufactured resources. This inventory was initiated through Article 9 of the New Echota treaty, which stipulated that Cherokees would be reimbursed for lost property and improvements. The underlying reason was to identify resources for future use. Superintendent of removal, Benjamin Currey, appointed two local white men, William Welch and Nimrod Jarrett, to record valuations of the Cherokees residing in North Carolina. Welch and Jarrett began valuating in November 1836, four months after the military occupation began. They worked through February 1837, recording valuations for more than 700 Cherokee properties (Riggs 1996:27; Welch and Jarrett 1837). These valuations describe architecture and agricultural improvements, and assign line item monetary values for each farm. Although some in government sincerely attempted to reimburse Cherokees for their losses, many kinds of resources were listed for which the government never intended to reimburse the Cherokees. For example, reimbursement for the presence of or potential for timber, water, gold, marble, and iron were not included in Article 9, but were often listed in the census and valuations (United States War Department 1835; Welch and Jarrett 1837). Inadvertently, Welch and Jarrett also created a vast quantity of information on settlement and community patterns of the Cherokees in the mountains.

Surveying the Land (1837-1838)

Modernization of a region requires the creation of detailed maps illustrating natural terrain and infrastructure. A continued fear in Washington D.C. of a Cherokee uprising led to the authorization of the creation of a detailed map of the most dangerous part of the Cherokee Nation: the mountains of southwestern North Carolina. Members of the United States Topographical Engineers, under the

command of Major William G. Williams, were sent to the region in November 1837 (Riggs 1996:38).

Williams understood that one of the main goals was to map the mountainous terrain for troop movements and for locations of Cherokees, possible enemies of the state:

The surveys which are now in operation will present a mass of valuable information in relation to the topography of the country, and enable such dispositions to be made in reference to troops and munitions of war as will in case of emergency, we hope, contribute greatly to the prompt suppression of the evil [Williams 1838].

The survey of that part of the Cherokee Nation in southwestern North Carolina was performed with state of the art methods and equipment. Five field survey crews were sent to cover the area. These crews worked until January 1838, accomplishing the task of mapping the main river and creek drainages in the entire portion of the Cherokee Nation within the boundaries of North Carolina in three months. Most survey crews, operating a chain and compass system, consisted of five or six men (Abert 1850).

The maps and notes compiled by the survey crews were sent to army cartographers, who created a composite map of the entire region, the first modern map of the Cherokee Nation. Characteristics of earlier maps were their small scale, lack of situation in a larger geographic context, lack of standardized scale, and an oblique view (Anderson 1991:171-172). The last map drawn before the military occupation of the region was the 1832 Matthew Rhea map (Figure 13). The map encompasses a small geographic area, is drawn at a very small scale, and few landmarks are illustrated. Even the most distinctive landmarks, the mountain chains, are very simply, and often incorrectly, schematized. No scale is provided; the map is more a heuristic diagram.

The large scale of the maps (1 inch equals 200 ft) provided space for abundant detail, and enabled the secondary goal of the survey (Figure 14). Natural landmarks included rivers, creeks, and streams, as well as detailed representations of topography: mountains, river terraces and floodplains. In addition to recording the locations of Cherokee farms and homes, Williams recorded, both on the maps and in correspondence, information about the natural resources of the region, including quality

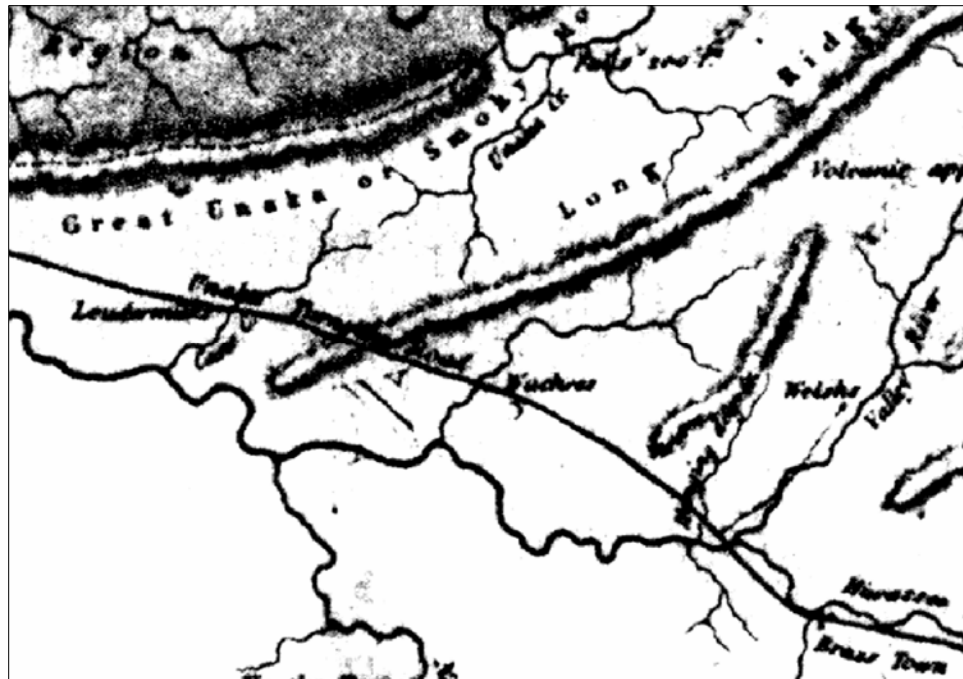


Figure 13. Section of 1832 Rhea map showing Welch house and road.

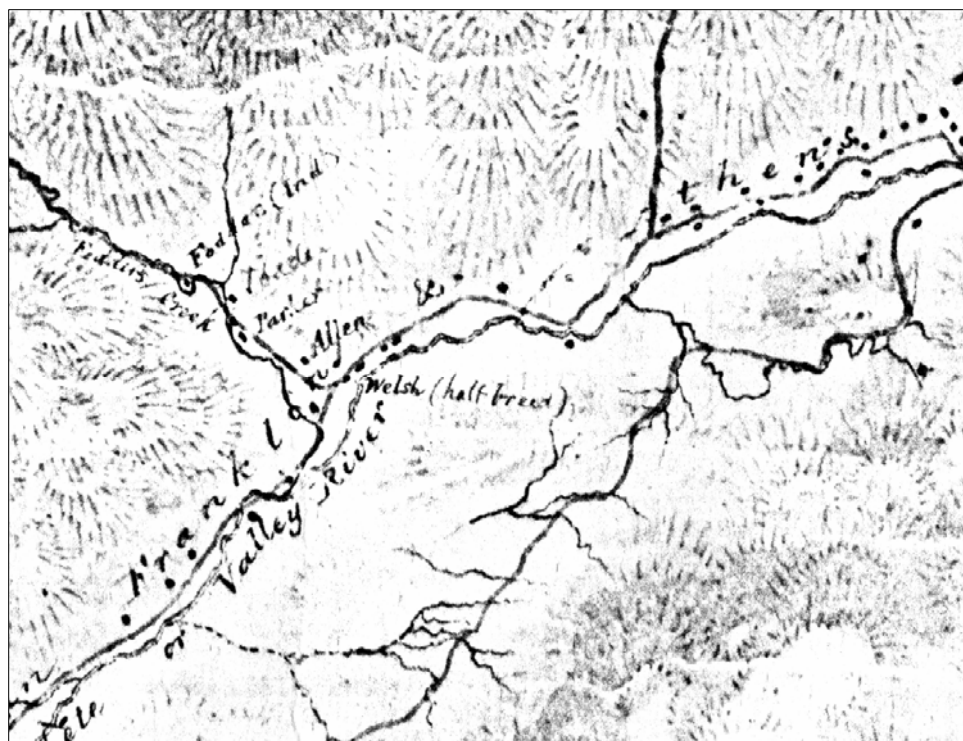


Figure 14. Army survey map (1837) showing "Welsh (half breed)".

of agricultural land, forest composition, soils, and water power. Perhaps mineral wealth was the most significant:

Like the northern part of Georgia, the country is said to abound in gold. A great deal has been washed by the Indians (after their careless, desultory fashion) from the streams. Veins have been little worked, if at all, and are scarcely known. Silver is by some supposed to exist, but this conclusion is rather doubtful. Lead has been found. Statuary marble is seen at the surface in the Valley river & Hiwassee. No one had presumed on the existence of copper or tin, though it is highly probable that these metals, not usually apparent to common observation, are lurking in the soil. Iron ore is abundant and in many places is found almost pure at the surface. Soapstone (talc) is found on Konehete and other localities [Williams 1838].

The survey leaders were instructed to record these natural resources, highly desirable to the growing number of whites who would arrive in much greater numbers immediately after removal.

The tenor of Williams's notes regarding the untapped natural resources of the area represented a widespread excitement for potential financial gain by whites once the Cherokees were removed.

The land to be vacated by the Cherokees in North Carolina was to be auctioned by the state. However, this could not be accomplished until a cadastral survey was performed. Modern cadasters are maps which show discrete property boundaries (plats or plans). In addition to a cadastral map, cadasters provide information on land ownership, dimensions, and value. Reuben Deaver, a civilian, was hired to establish these property boundaries for the anticipated sale of the vacated lands. Deaver invented these boundaries in 1837, establishing 1,400 individual tracts ranging from 50 to 400 acres (Browder 1973; Deaver 1837; Freel 1957; Riggs 1996:19). The Deaver survey resulted in a map illustrating mountain chains, rivers, creeks, and most importantly, newly created property boundaries (Figure 15). Deaver also ranked each property in terms of quality of land. The creation of discrete property boundaries was essential for state auction and white settlement of the land. The survey was blatant preparation for a post-removal, state-run land auction.

The combination of the Williams army map and the Deaver map of private property boundaries effectively gridded the area using the current advances in survey technology. These maps illustrate the changes in cartography as a shift to modern state dominion occurred: scaled absolutely, they are drawn with a rigorous 'bird's eye' perspective, and are tied into a larger geographic area. They contain

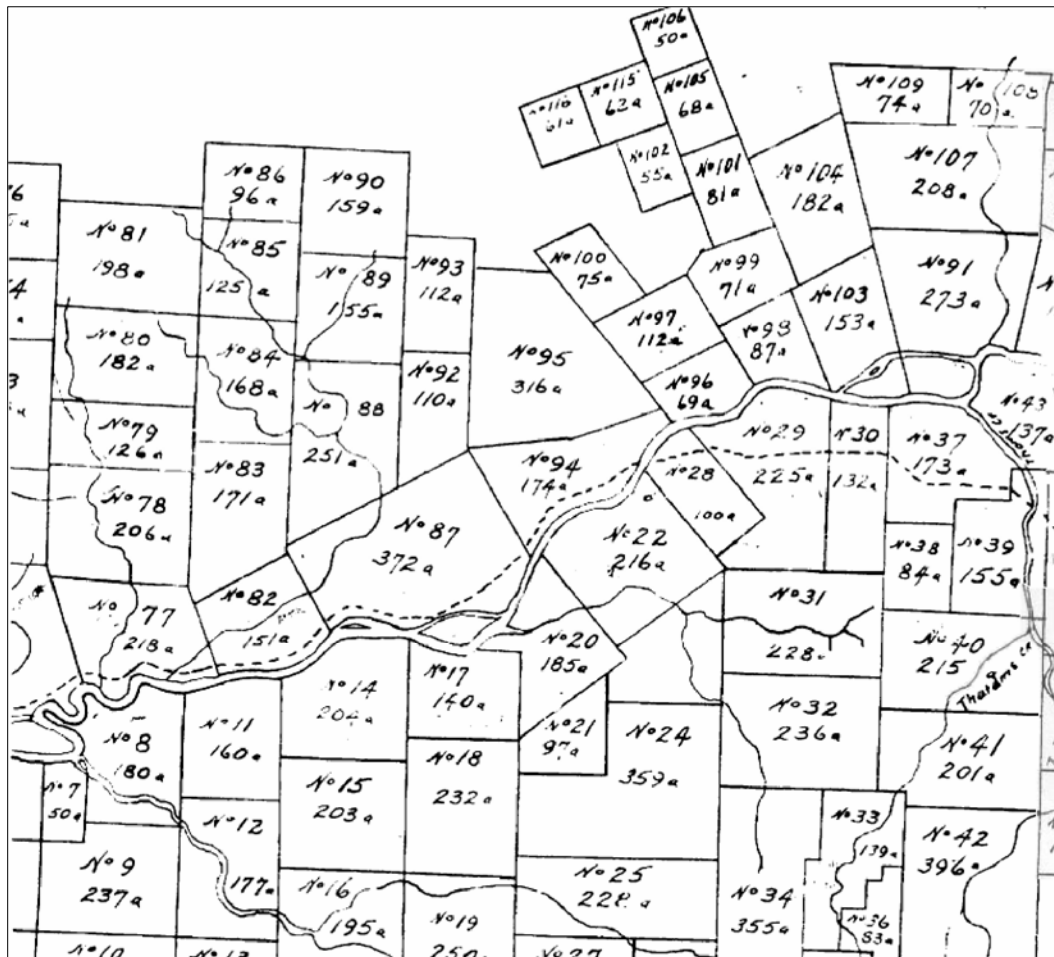


Figure 15. Section of Deaver map (1837) showing Valley River.

local and state borders (that correspond to nothing on the ground), and illustrate numerous and varied landmarks.

These two maps created the necessary geospatial grid for immediate settlement by white farmers and businessmen, and continue to be the basis for modern land transactions and natural resource procurement. Many current property boundaries were initially conceived by Deaver in 1837. The area in which Captain Williams commented on the fine marble is now a community called Marble, and is the site of several stone quarries from which thousands of tons of rock have been cut throughout the

twentieth century. Sites identified by military surveyors as good locations for mill sites, house sites, or iron works were often operated as such by white settlers.

Forced emigration and resistance (1838)

The final task in modernization was removal of the non citizen portion of the population. In January 1838, the government began preparations for forced emigration, stipulated in the treaty to begin on May 23, 1838. In January, commissioners John Kennedy and Thomas Wilson arrived at the Cherokee agency in eastern Tennessee to adjudicate Cherokee claims for loss of property and improvements. The commissioners intended to hear claims until the deadline of May 23, at which time the hearings would close. In early 1838, however, the Cherokees of North Carolina continued to support Chief Ross's attempts to alter the terms of the treaty so that they could remain in the state, and therefore ignored the commission.

General Winfield Scott, the newly appointed commander of the Army of the Cherokee Nation, arrived at Fort Cass in eastern Tennessee in early May 1838, less than two weeks before the commencement date of the removal as stipulated by the New Echota treaty. There he commanded a multitude of institutions, including a massive, sprawling prisoner-of-war camp and a military jail and court (Foreman 1976:286-293; Mooney 1982:129-131; Royce 1975:169). Scott had at his disposal approximately 7,000 men: federal troops, militia, and volunteers, representing numerous infantry, artillery, and cavalry companies, stationed at posts in Tennessee, Georgia, and North Carolina (Godbold and Russell 1990:36; Mooney 1982:129).

Removal of the Cherokees in North Carolina was carried out between late May and late July. By mid June the mass emigration of Cherokees from North Carolina to Fort Cass in eastern Tennessee was complete; there the Cherokees they tried to stay alive, living along the creek banks, mostly without cover, through the remainder of the summer. Military operations in the mountains and other parts of the Cherokee Nation were largely complete, and in the third week in June, the state militias were disbanded and many federal troops moved out of the Nation (Ehle 1988:339; Riggs 1999:60). A force of federal soldiers was kept at Fort Cass to guard the prisoners. The scene there in the late

summer was horrific. Most Cherokees camped without adequate food, water, shelter, clothing, or medicine. Several people died everyday, mostly infants, small children, and the elderly. Diseases such as cholera, smallpox, dysentery, and whooping cough spread rapidly. Daniel Butrick, a Baptist minister who spent much time in the camps, wrote in his journal of tending the sick, presiding over numerous burials, witnessing white men being allowed into the camps to sell whiskey, and hearing accounts of beatings, rape, and murder by the soldiers (Butrick 1838). The bulk of the North Carolina Cherokees, held at Fort Cass, marched west in detachments of roughly 1,000 people each in September 1838 (Thornton 1991:81).

The military occupation in the mountains continued after the main Cherokee detachments had started westward. Federal troops searched the steep ridges and valleys in the mountains, searching for the Cherokees in hiding. The occupation may have continued for several months, if not for the incident involving Tsali. The story of Tsali's flight, capture, the murder of American soldiers, and his capture and execution by fellow Cherokees has been recounted and analyzed numerous times (e.g. Finger 1984; Jurgelski 2006; Lanman 1849; Mooney 1982). His capture and execution were of paramount importance to all Cherokees east, because it signaled the end of military occupation of their communities. Tsali's sons were shot on November 23, 1838, and Tsali himself was executed two days later. General Scott was ready for the costly, unpopular occupation to come to an end. Likewise, the officers and soldiers in the field were hoping to avoid winter in the southern Appalachians: living in tents and scouring the countryside on horseback or on foot amounted to extreme physical hardship. The execution of Tsali was used by Scott, more than anyone, as a sign that the few Cherokees in hiding had been brought to justice, and therefore, the massive, forced removal of the Cherokees had been a military success (Finger 1984:21-28; Jurgelski 2006).

Although the Cherokees were uncertain of their status in North Carolina after removal, they were much better off than when the area was occupied by a military force. Although they would remain in North Carolina, the bitterness of the occupation and the devastating losses of family members, land, and property, would not be forgotten. Although the Cherokee removal was performed through a

massive military occupation, it was only partially successful in removing the Cherokee presence from the southern Appalachians; hundreds were allowed to remain and hundreds more hid in the mountains until the troops dispersed. This resistance illustrates both the Cherokees' determination to remain on their tribal land and the limitations of state power.

The accomplishments of the United States army in the mountains of North Carolina between June 1835 and July 1838 were astounding. Federal and militia troops marched into a relatively unknown area and in three years effectively constructed a spatial grid and database that encompassed both human populations and economically significant environmental resources. These data entailed a new kind of organizational control. As if to test their new power, the military utilized these new data to completely change the regional demography, culminating in the removal of almost all American Indians from the Southern United States. An ideology of the "other" was strengthened during this period by military and civilian voices, and helped rationalize forced emigration. As the Cherokee removal was enacted, these new forms of control quickly passed to civilian hands: local and state politicians, lawyers, and land speculators used the new data to gain control of the most productive land in the county.

The devices that enable, and are enabled by, the modern state (e.g. the census and map) have a transformative power. The information on the Henderson roll of 1835 contained racial and familial classifications unfamiliar to the Cherokees that it described. This document, however, became the basis for numerous rolls over the following decades, and many of the classifications have largely come to be recognized as legitimate. The gathering, creating, or deleting of information therefore wields great power through the reification of essentialist classifications of race, class, and gender. The Deaver map of 1837 effectively created discrete property boundaries where none had previously existed. These boundaries, many of which exist today, provided arbitrary entities that were, and are, "real," allowing the transfer of units of land in legal courts that were established locally while the map was being created.

The Welch Family During Removal

The Welch plantation on Valley River was located roughly 9 km (5.6 miles) downstream from the Cherokee communities located at the head of Valley River, known collectively as the Valley Towns, and 14.5 km (9.0 miles) upstream from the mouth of Valley River and Fort Butler. Their prominent farmhouse served as a logical meeting place between these two locales, and was a hub of activity for the military. Federal and militia officers maintained a regular presence at the Welch house, using it as a space to deal with issues between local Cherokees and recently settled whites. Betty Welch served as an interpreter for Joseph Powell, a lieutenant colonel in the Tennessee militia (Powell 1837). Betty, having lived most of her life with a Cherokee man within Cherokee communities, was a fluent speaker of English and Cherokee; she could write neither. It is very interesting that, in the spring and summer of 1838, Betty was a much more visible participant in army affairs than her husband John. It is likely that he could speak English fluently, as could his wife and children. Their oldest son, Ned, enlisted in the Tennessee militia in August 1837, where he served as an interpreter for Colonel Powell's company for almost a year. Was John "too Indian" to work with the army, either from his standpoint or theirs? Did they reject his aid outright, or did he refuse to offer it? These events, occurring almost a year before the removal began in earnest, signaled Betty's increasing political power and visibility. It would expand beyond even her conception in the following years, but with a heavy price.

Despite the views of many of the soldiers, Colonel Joseph Powell and his brother, Captain John A. Powell, enjoyed the company of the Cherokees. In their many dealings at the Welch farm, they became acquainted with the Welch family. These relationships became very personal, particularly with John Powell. He became acquainted with the Welch's oldest daughter, Mary, and the two were married in 1837. This placed the Welch family and the Powells in a difficult position, situated between the local Cherokee communities and the soldiers posted at Fort Butler. Mary (Welch) Powell claimed a separate residence from her parents in 1837, but it is unclear if John Powell lived with Mary or continued to reside at Fort Butler.

The Welches struggled to keep themselves and other families on Valley River, and felt relatively safe. They had acquired exemption passes from Preston Starrett. Also, John Welch was citizenized through his involvement with the 1819 Calhoun Treaty and was legally entitled to compensation for property and improvements lost through that treaty. However, General Scott discovered that the Welches and others were supporting Cherokees avoiding removal in North Carolina. On June 13, 1838, the commander at Fort Montgomery reported:

...I collected yesterday about 80 Indians. They had all received orders from Welsh of Valley River to leave home & take to the mountains [Bynum 1838a].

Another officer reported:

I have, with my company, taken post here convenient to two points (one of which is Welch's, the other Colvard's) where the Indians are fed and harboured and where the trails from the mountains, on both sides of the river, concentrate. ...Welch's family and Nancy Colvard...should be apprehended and sent in... Welch's people I understand have liberty from Genl. Eustis. These two families are doing a great deal of mischief [Porter 1838].

On June 20, 1838, just as forced detention began, John Welch transferred power of attorney and the ownership of all chattel property, including slaves, livestock, and farm equipment, to Jonathon Blythe and Jonathon Parker (Welch 1838a). Jonathon Blythe was Betty's father and Parker was a close neighbor. This legal action was designed to strengthen the Welch holdings on Valley River by placing as much legal power and property in the name of white individuals.

In late July, John rode with Betty, their son Ned, John Powell, and Gideon Morris and Morris's brothers-in-law Junaluska and Wachacha, to Fort Cass to settle their claims. The next morning, upon approaching the fort all the Cherokee men in the group, John, Ned, Junaluska, and Wachacha, were arrested without charge and placed in the fort guardhouse, a "loathsome dungeon" (Powell 1843a, 1843b). John Welch was regularly questioned by General Scott and others in his office, where he was very poorly treated. Although not stated directly, several witnesses suggest severe physical abuse of Welch and the other prisoners (Powell 1843a, 1843b; Rogers 1843; Weeks 1843). He was also abused by an "oppressive insolent" lieutenant while in the guardhouse (Welch et al. 1843). Both John and

Ned Welch became gravely ill while imprisoned. Ned, considered near death, was finally released in early September, although John continued to be held (Powell 1843b).

General Scott did not take immediate action against the Welch, Morris, and Wachacha families. During July and early August he was busy completing the emigration of the bulk of Cherokees being held at Fort Cass and then mustering out the state militias and most of the regular soldiers. However, he saw his last task of the removal as collecting those Cherokees who continued to avoid emigration, and he began with the Welches:

Welshes on Valley River
August 22nd 1838

Sir,

I have the honor to report that on my arrival at this place this morning I found that the families of Welsh, of Morris, and of Wat-chut-cher [Wachacha] had fled at daylight yesterday morning. The two former families have gone to South Carolina and the latter to Lufty [Qualla Towns] in Haywood County N.C. This flight I understand was caused by information communicated by Morris who I understand immediately after the arrest of Welsh left Calhoun [Tennessee] at 12 o'clock on one day and reached this place by 3 o'clock the next morning. On learning these facts and that they were beyond the reach of pursuit, I caused Mrs Welsh to send an express after her family telling her that I would wait at this place four days for the arrival of the family and that if it did not reach her in that time I should proceed to Calhoun with herself and slaves.

I am told that there is about fifty or sixty Indians with the Lufty Indians in Haywood County N.C. and that they have left this section of the country within the last three or four months.

The runners of Mr Ross with permission signed by command of the Genl [General] reported to me today.

Very respectfully

Your obt srt

HL Scott

1st Lt 4th Infy [Scott 1838]

Most of the Cherokee inhabitants had fled to the Qualla Towns, South Carolina, or were hiding in the mountains. Lieutenant Scott made camp around the Welch house in an effort to collect the Welch children and other Cherokees in hiding. Betty's tenacity is illustrated in another officer's letter two weeks later (anonymous 1838):

4th Sept 1838

Sir

Mrs Welsh is not yet well enough to travel but says she is getting better. I expect to start tomorrow or next day if she gets no worse. I expected [illegible] started this morning but she says that she could not stand it to travel. She says that she wants to go as soon as she is able to [travel?]. She sent [Clark?] after her children the day that you started from this place and he said when he returned that [he? she?] said they would proceed to Calhoun from Georgia at which place they were for they would not come home to be escorted to the agency by soldiers & [illegible], but I heard this morning that they had come to this neighborhood and got provisions from home. I have suspected it and kept a lookout for sometime past but have not discovered anything yet. I took ten Cherokees on the 30th of last month and sent them to Fort Butler and delivered them [illegible] to Ft Montgomery. I

have some hopes of getting the children for there is no person knows that I suspect them! My funds are nearly all spent.

Very respectfully
Your obedient servant
PF Te[illegible]
Capt. F Compy 4th infy

Betty was pregnant at the time, which was probably the cause of her sickness. Her other children were not faring well. Her oldest son was in prison with her husband, and her other nine children, five of whom were under 10 years old, were in hiding with the Morris family in South Carolina. She remained at the farm with their eight slaves, one of whom, Nelly, was also pregnant. Betty was relatively helpless as the soldiers camped around her house and observed the illegal pilfering of their farm. In this setting, General Scott sent his next order:

"Affiant [Powell] was at the agency at the time. One negroe boy died & [affiant] believes that if the boy had been attended to he could have [been] saved, the negroe woman [Nelly] died before affiant went to the agency[.] some short time before the boy died the woman died as affiant was told & affiant believes that the treatment the woman received[,] that was got by affiant & brought home[,] was the cause of her losing a child in a very short time after getting her [the baby?] home affiant states that he told the gard that took the negroes away that if they moved the woman that died at the time they did that it would kill her & they replied that they could not help it that it was Genl Scott's orders to bring [Elizabeth] Welch & children if they could get a hold of them & if they could not, to bring all his Welches negroes *at all hazards*. I then told the gard that the negro woman Nelly had only a few days since had a child & that it would not in my opinion do to move her as she had been out of her bead [bed] [not] more than an hour at a time since she had been confined to her bead as affiant had been told by the family [Powell 1843b, italics added].

At the time of removal the Welches owned eight slaves. All that is known about them are their names and ages. The oldest was a man named Isaac, "about 40." He may have been married to one of two adult slave women owned by the Welches. Nelly, 36 years old, had a daughter named Jane and was pregnant in the summer of 1838. Phillis, 26 years old, had three children, Bill, Clarie (Claire?) and Henderson. There was also a boy, six years old, named Frank (Welch 1838a). The transfer of power of attorney to Blythe and Parker, recorded in June 1838, does not list Nelly's baby, born in late August or early September. Betty, because of her pregnancy, was not forced to march. However, all nine of the Welch slaves were marched from Valley River, across the Long Ridge mountains, to Fort Cass and then to the Cherokee agency in the nearby town of Athens. As Captain Powell warned the officers in charge, Nelly had delivered a baby 10 days before the march, and was unfit to travel.

Nelly, her 10 day old baby, and one of the boys died at the agency in Athens (Powell 1843b; Weeks 1843; Welch et al. 1843).

Although the attempts at including the Welches in one of the removal detachments failed, the imprisonment of John, Ned, Junaluska, and Wachacha left Betty and several other women as temporary heads of household, forced to spend more than three months attempting to stop soldiers and other whites from pilfering their farms. While most of the family was imprisoned or in flight, agents auctioned off most of the Welch property, including cattle, hogs, corn, wheat, oats, potatoes, and other crops (Powell 1843b). The Welch house was broken into and, among other things, a trunk was broken open and \$225 in gold and silver coins was stolen (Welch 1846a). It is probable that whatever was not auctioned by the government was stolen. John Welch claimed:

that as a consequence of his arrest and long confinement not only entirely lost his health but that nearly the whole of his large crop of corn wheat rye oats potatoes cattle & hogs were lost and destroyed there being no person left at his home able to take care of his property, himself and oldest [son] & negroes confined in a loathsome dungeon while [illegible] Florada soldiers with a horde of other equally worthless white men were rioting in and plundering him of his property [Welch et al. 1843].

"Florada soldiers" refers to federal troops who had recently fought in the Second Seminole War. These soldiers, under the field command of lieutenants Larned and Foster, scoured the mountains in search of runaway Cherokees. To the best of their knowledge, this included not more than a few dozen, a hundred at most, Cherokees.

When the Welches decided to repurchase their own land at the auction, John Welch did not tend to the matter himself: he was still imprisoned at Fort Cass. Their son-in-law, Captain John Powell, performed the task. On November 2, 1838, Captain Powell traveled to Franklin and bought back the Welch farm (Stanmire v. Powell 1852). By that time a trusted member of the family, he carried with him to Franklin \$1,000 of Welch money in gold and silver for the down payment required by the state. Even if land ownership was possible for Cherokees, they must have felt that ownership by a white man would be much more legally and socially secure than by a Cherokee. The lands purchased by Powell at the state auction on November 2, 1838 included tracts 62, 68, 69, and 71 through 74 of

District 6, part of the newly created property districting as surveyed by Reuben Deaver in 1837. The tracts purchased by Powell comprised 1,274 acres (Figure 16). The land included roughly 100 acres of arable agricultural land along Valley River. Also near the river were the houses of John and Betty Welch, Ned and Emily Welch, and John and Mary Powell. These tracts also included hundreds of acres of wooded uplands. The Welches purposely purchased hundreds of acres of upland, wooded tracts for the settlement of Cherokee refugees.

John Welch was released from the Fort Cass guardhouse in early November. Upon his return to Valley River, it was obvious his physical health had been destroyed; he was nearly blind, could barely walk, and was "low in flesh" (Powell 1843b; Rogers 1843). Powell stated "Many times affiant has seen said John Welch when he could hardly find his road in a fair sunshiny day" (Powell 1843b). Preston Starrett described Welch after his release as "unable since to do anything of consequence still drag[g]ing out a lingering miserable existance [sic] without hope of recovery to human appearances" (Starrett 1843).

Conclusions

The events of the removal illustrate the racial hierarchy firmly entrenched in white society. Some Cherokees found ways to remain in North Carolina, through legal exemption, hiding, or marriage to a white person. However, the established hierarchy was founded on the placement of those designated "black" on the lowest rung, separated physically, intellectually, and morally from all other identified groups. Numerous slaves endured forced emigration, as chattel property of emigrating Cherokees. Others, such as Nelly, her baby and Bill, Henderson, or Frank, were not afforded enough basic care to even survive, but were members of a group controlled "at all hazards." The name of Nelly's infant was never recorded, and it is unknown if the boy who died was Frank or one of Phillis's two boys; such absences in the contemporary documents are stark symbols of the callous actions and consequences resulting from the imposed racial hierarchy.

The Welches ultimately maintained control of their plantation on Valley River. Their property had been pilfered, but deeds to their land were held by a white man, an officer in the Tennessee

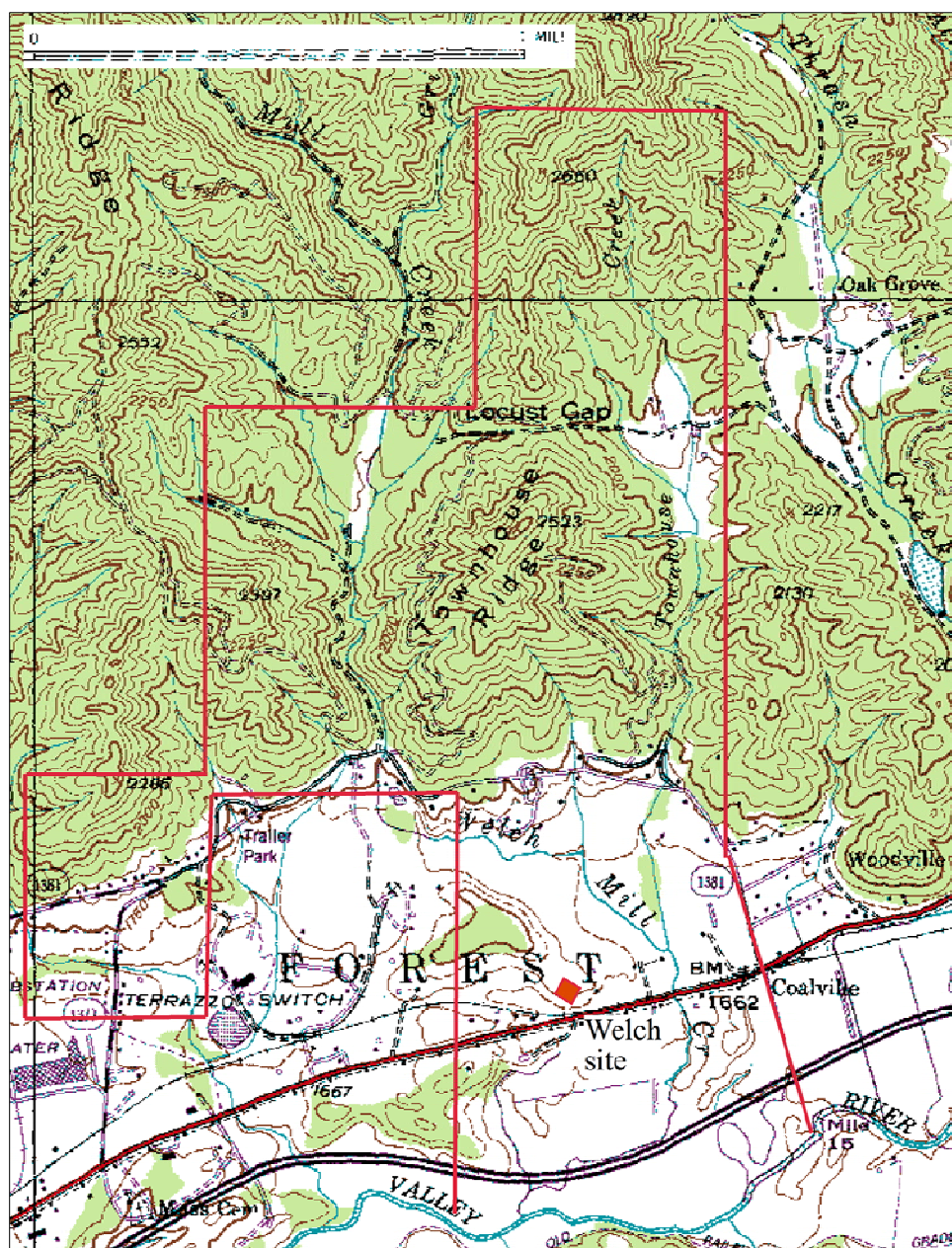


Figure 16. Section of USGS Marble quadrangle with overlay of Deaver tracts purchased by Powell in 1838.

militia. More importantly, their land, over 1,200 acres in seven contiguous tracts, would provide a safe haven for numerous Cherokee families, many of whom had no where else to go. The Cherokees of Valley River, Hanging Dog Creek, and Beaverdam Creek had been traumatized by loss, but had achieved their goal of remaining in their homeland, away from the Cherokee Nation and, at least for a time, from the federal government. Results of modernization of the area would include both a redefinition of what it meant to be "Cherokee" and changing relationships between traditional Cherokees and those who had embraced certain aspects of modernity.

CHAPTER 6

"CONFESSEDLY A CHEROKEE AND ALIEN BY BIRTH": A LIMINAL SPACE ON VALLEY RIVER (1838-1839)

In early December 1838, the Cherokees remaining in North Carolina drew a collective breath: the agonizing period of military occupation had ended. However, the homes they had fled five months before had been pilfered and in some cases burned and crops, livestock, and household goods stolen. What had been thriving communities were now barren of activity. Of the roughly 3,600 Cherokees living in North Carolina around the time of removal (U.S. War Department 1835; Finger 1984:16), less than a year later there were only 1,100 (Finger 1984:29). Although these Cherokees had successfully avoided removal, they found themselves going home to a world greatly altered, an environment with a palpable sense of the unknown. The Cherokees who had hidden in the mountains assumed they were fugitives in the eyes of the United States. Citizens of neither the Cherokee Nation nor the United States, their lands had been divided into tracts and sold at auction while they were hiding. Ironically, although still in the Cherokee homeland, they seemed to be a people without a home. Out of this surreal environment they began to assess their situation and make pragmatic choices about their own survival. These choices often flew in the face of popular conventions, particularly in the race-obsessed South. Their success in remaining in their homeland derived from the inclusiveness of their cultural background, of their readiness, not to ignore, but to accept differences in and alternate perceptions of race, class, and gender at a time when these classifications defined stark social divisions in most of the country.

The liminality of this period for the Cherokees of North Carolina and of their ability to use it to their advantage is nowhere better illustrated than in the personage of Betty Welch. A white woman married to a Cherokee man, she and her husband John created a space for fugitive Cherokees after the

removal. Her background and life choices had made her fully aware of the social precepts of the day. Up to the time of the removal, Betty is almost invisible in the historic record. However, the unusual circumstances of the removal and its aftermath propelled her into a position of power. By the end of 1839 she possessed title to all chattel and land wealth of the Welch farm, maintained power of attorney for her family, and publicly represented an estate with an adult work force of six family members, three African American slaves, and approximately 55 Cherokee members of Welch's Town (Tables 1, 2). Although she may not have desired this position, she forcefully maintained the farm and publicly fought for the disbursement of Cherokee funds and for the right of Cherokees to stay in North Carolina in the face of a "voluntary" removal effort in the 1840s. As with the Cherokees of Welch's Town, her ability to achieve this power and status resided in her willingness to overlook what most could not: she had married a Cherokee and accepted (if not embraced) Cherokee tradition.

To understand how and why Betty overlooked what most in the region could not, an investigation of how she viewed her surroundings, of how she managed her daily life, would be invaluable. While the documentary records provide the narrative of how Betty rose to power, it is mute concerning how she and John lived together and raised a family in a household of a white and a Cherokee. The archaeological record provides the necessary clues of daily life, of material culture, from which to discern how the Welches not only successfully combined two cultural traditions under one roof but ultimately how they expanded this behavior into pragmatic and savvy methods of subverting the extreme forces of military occupation and federal emigration pressures.

The brief, traumatic event of the removal dramatically altered the social landscape of those Cherokees who remained: social networks were destroyed, families split, and family members dead. The land left by the emigration would shortly be occupied by whites. However, for a brief period, the land would remain relatively empty, at least in isolated, upland areas. These areas would briefly serve as havens for the Cherokees who had hidden in the mountains during the summer and fall of 1838 and give them time to find solutions to the problems of short term survival and long term residence in the area.

Table 1. Heads of household, Welch's Town, 1840 (Thomas 1840b).

Name	# in family	residence in 1835
Tecanequeloskihor Gray Beard	5	Valley River
Tiyestah	2	Hanging Dog
Jackson	2	Valley River
Tenutlahee	2	Valley River
John Towih	1	Hanging Dog
Old Axe	8	Hanging Dog
Etekanuh	4	Hanging Dog
Chunowhinkuh or Chinoque	3	Hanging Dog
Dickageeska or oogatulla	3	Hanging Dog
Wah ya netuh or Young Wolf	4	Hanging Dog
Cossehe la	2	Hanging Dog
Walla	4	Beaver dam
Sam Wah chee suh	6	Beaver dam
Kalouskuh or Locust	3	Beaver dam
George an orphan	1	Valley River
Chicke eh	3	Valley River
Johnson Connel	2	Valley River
Arsena	3	Hanging Dog
Annohee	2	Tusquitta
Culleskella	3	Duck Town Georgia
Chinoquih (Wahcheesuh)	3	Beaver dam
Tu non na luh	2	Beaver dam
Little George	2	Fighting Town Georgia
Chuno whin ka	10	Hanging Dog
Chu la lo ga	2	Fighting Town Georgia
Tlunoskeeska	1	Valley River
Little Dickageeska	2	Hanging Dog
	85	

Table 2. Members of Welch family on plantation, 1840 (Thomas 1840b).

Name	relation	age
John	husband	49
Elizabeth (Betty)	wife	39
Jonathan	son	14
John Cobb	son	12
Richard	son	8
Martha Ann	daughter	6
Rebecca	daughter	5
Lloyd	son	3
Stacey	daughter	1
Ned Welch	husband	22
Emily (Vannoy)	wife	22
Laura	daughter	1
John Powell	husband	31
Mary (Welch)	wife	20
Cornelia	daughter	1

Defining the Liminal Space: The Impact of Modernization

Modernization, for the Cherokees, caused a shift in race and gender perceptions and behaviors. Being classified as white became more powerful; Betty, even though a woman, became more powerful, because she could safely own land (because her husband was an "alien"). In a more important sense for most of the Cherokees in North Carolina, modernization made them illegal, suspect. They weren't sure about their rights regarding citizenship, land tenure, or even residency. All of their basic rights of citizenship had been taken or voided by the United States, placing them in an incredibly marginalized state. They remained in this position for at least a decade, during which none of these issues were really settled, although it became increasingly apparent that neither the federal nor state government had any inclination to provide funding to try to get them to remove.

The broad goal of the Cherokee removal was to prepare the lands of the old Cherokee Nation for the expansion of the market economy. The army was largely successful in these pursuits, through the creation of improved infrastructure (roads, bridges), cadastral data (private property boundaries, censuses), and identification and classification of natural resources (waterways, soils, timber, and mineral and metal deposits). The army was less successful in removing the "alien" portion of the population: more than 1,000 Cherokees remained in their homeland. This failure by the army left the Cherokees in North Carolina in an ambiguous status regarding citizenship, residency, and land tenure. For this reason, the patronage that most of these Cherokees received immediately after the army was deployed elsewhere was critical. Here I discuss the effects of modernization on the Welches and the members of Welch's Town.

The undefined legal status of the Cherokees in North Carolina after removal inspired lengthy debate at the time and for decades afterward. General Winfield Scott, claiming that Wachacha was not a United States citizen, made an argument based on the articles of the 1817 and 1819 reservation treaties, of which John Welch and Junaluska (and Wachacha's father) were participants (Jurgelski 2004; Riggs 1988):

Reservations of lands, in those treaties, to the heads of certain families or individuals "who may wish to become citizens of the U. States," do not make citizens, but merely give permission to apply to the proper courts to acquire that character, if the reserves so wish, under the acts of Congress establishing a "uniform rule of naturalization."

To the reservations in the said treaty of 1817, is this proviso—"that if any heads of families, for whom reservations may be made, should remove therefrom, then, in that case, the right to revert to the U. States," and to the reservations in the said treaty of 1819, is annexed the condition, that each reserve shall "reside permanently on the land reserved"—all which reservations were, by the said treaties of 1817 and 1819, thrown without the boundaries of the late Cherokee country, and the prisoner was found, with his family, residing within the boundaries.

Therefore, if he, the said "Watchesser or Watchecher," ***confessedly a Cherokee and alien by birth***, or any male ancestor of his, from whom he can trace his legitimate descent, has acquired the right of citizenship under the "uniform rule of naturalization" prescribed by congress in pursuance of the constitution of the U. States, it is asked that he be held to proof thereof not hearsay, but by the original certificate, under seal, from the clerk of the court in which such right was perfected [Scott, September 7, 1838; underlines in original, bold italics by author].

Article 8 of the treaty of 1817 states:

Each head of a Cherokee family residing on lands herein or hereafter ceded to the United States who elects to become a citizen of the United States shall receive a reservation of 640 acres, to include his or her improvements, for life, with reversion to fee simple to children, subject to widow's dower. On removal of reservees their reservations shall revert to the United States [Royce 1975:85].

Article 2 of the 1819 treaty makes the same stipulation: to retain citizenship, each Cherokee head of household must reside on their reservation (as observed by Scott). However, white settlers forced most of the reservees off their reservation lands within a few years of having taken their reservations (Jurgelski 2004). Scott's meandering interpretation of the 1817 and 1819 treaty rights was one of the first attempts to explain the rights of Cherokees east after removal. Numerous contradicting interpretations have been presented to the present day (Bridgers 1980; Finger 1980, 1984:41, 51-56; Frizzell 1981). These multiple interpretations reveal a major gap in the modernization of the land and people of the old Cherokee Nation, a failure by the army to remove all "aliens" from a block of land newly stamped and classified by the modernizing structures of the United States government.

Prior to the removal, land within the Cherokee Nation was not allotted through deeds or discrete property boundaries as throughout most of the United States. Land was controlled through a tribal rule of right of occupation: if a particular plot of land was not being used by another Cherokee family, its occupation and use was acceptable (McLoughlin 1992:65, 292; Riggs 1999:180-184). A primary impact of removal for those Cherokees who remained in North Carolina, therefore, was an almost

overnight loss of any land on which to live or work. They had supposedly forfeited their land for tracts in the West, and their plots were being sold at state auction. Land tenure was a confusing issue for the Cherokees at the time. Indeed, it is still poorly understood. Most historians have claimed it was illegal for Cherokees to own land in North Carolina between 1838 and the 1850s (Dunaway 1996:256-257; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:31; Mooney 1982:159; Neeley 1991:24; Owl 1929:89-90). Finger (1980, 1984) claims that Cherokees could own land, but that none could afford it or that most chose to live on communal lands. In actuality, Cherokees owned land in western North Carolina as early as 1845. In that year Gideon Morris sold two tracts of land in the Cheoah Valley to Wachacha (Wachacha 1845). By 1855, several Cherokees in the area had purchased land, including Junaluska, Wachacha, John Ax, Joe Locust, and Nancy Hawkins. However, the number of Cherokees owning land remained low throughout the 1850s and 1860s. A legal case tried in the North Carolina Supreme Court in 1869 supported the rights of Cherokees to own land. A Cherokee named Clausine sold land to Andrew Colvard (a white man) in 1864. The defendant, another white man, claimed the deed was worthless because Cherokees could not own land in the state. Judge Reade found in favor of the plaintiff (Colvard) on the grounds that "there is nothing in the Constitution or laws of North Carolina which forbids Cherokee Indian residents from taking and holding land" (Bridgers 1979; Colvard v. Monroe 1869). Nonetheless, the first Cherokee to hold land by deed in North Carolina occurred seven years after removal.

The concept of "otherness," became increasingly codified by the United States government. The growing power of state control during the late federal and antebellum era defined, legally and socially, what it was to be an American. This was particularly true in the South, where race was an increasingly significant issue. The members of Welch's Town refused to embrace "being American." They realized that, given their "otherness," based in both physical and cultural difference, they would not be welcomed because of... "the larger society's view of them as "outsiders."" (Chavez 1991:259). In addition, this was not their goal. These Cherokees had, for decades, inhabited places that were geographic and social borderlands, where they could maintain their communities and local

governance. They had rejected the Cherokee Nation in 1819, long before their flight from the American army in 1838. Even though the Welches embraced wealth accumulation, they too rejected large-scale government in favor of community or town control. They had lived near each other on the 1819 reservations, guided by the traditional Cherokee form of localism that seated real political power in the town.

Origins of Welch's Town

By early December, 1838, word had spread to those Cherokees hiding in the various mountain ridges and valleys of the execution of Tsali and his sons and of the deal or compromise effected by General Scott and William Holland Thomas. Immediately after the troops had been dispatched in the fall of 1838, most of the Cherokees who had hidden in the Snowbird Mountains retreated to one of three nearby areas. Many returned to their homes on Hanging Dog Creek, roughly 11 km (6.9 miles) southwest of the Welch farm. This upland area contained few large arable tracts and therefore was not settled by whites until the 1850s. Some of the Cherokee families who had lived there in 1835 returned to their farms, or what was left of them (Riggs 1996: 19; Thomas 1840a; Welch and Jarrett 1837).

Another group of Cherokees returned to their homes along the rivers and creeks of the Cheoah River drainage. Cherokees lived in three major towns in the Cheoah Valley in 1835 — Cheoah itself along the Cheoah River near present day Robbinsville, Buffalo Town along the Cheoah River near the mouths of East and West Buffalo creeks, and Connichiloe or Tallulah along much of Tallulah Creek (Mooney 1982:506-548; Riggs 1996:70-72; Welch and Jarrett 1837; Williams 1838). Although many of the Cherokees of Cheoah and Tallulah were removed west, most members of Buffalo Town remained in the mountains. Colonel John Gray Bynum, commander of the North Carolina militia stationed at Fort Montgomery in the Cheoah Valley, stated "The Indians in this valley are almost universally of excellent character except the Buffalotown Indians who are incorrigible savages" (Bynum 1838b). These "incorrigible savages" of Buffalo Town were "fullblood," largely non-Christianized Cherokees who ignored the threats of the military, even though most of their neighbors in the nearby towns of Cheoah and Tallulah emigrated (Bynum 1838b; Riggs 1996:70-72; United

States Department of War 1835). Many people from Buffalo Town and smaller numbers from the other Cheoah Valley towns moved back to this area because of its isolation and community ties (Neeley 1991; Riggs 1996:19; Thomas 1840a). They were relatively safe from white incursions for the Cheoah Valley was, and is, one of the most isolated areas in the region.

Over the course of 1839 a third group of Cherokees settled on the lands of the Welch family. The Welch land included more than 1,200 acres, comprised mostly of steep, mountainous land in the Snowbird Mountains. The newly-formed community of Welch's Town was probably largely situated on two parallel, narrow creek bottoms in these mountainous tracts. One was Welch Mill Creek. A creek originating near the ridgeback of the Snowbird Mountains, it flows year round, and is fed along its course by several springheads. The level, arable land along this creek extends roughly 2,460 ft (750 m) and encompasses roughly 60 acres. At a slightly higher elevation, just above this flatland and ringed by it, are numerous small benches and knolls forming ideal cabin sites. Another creek to the east was, and is, called Townhouse Branch. This larger branch and associated fertile land, also owned by the Welches, was roughly half a mile (850 m) east of Welch Mill Creek and easily accessed by a trail that led through a small gap in the ridgeline. As with Welch Mill Creek, Townhouse Branch originates near the crest of the Snowbird Mountains and flows year round. It produces more water than Welch Mill Creek, and contains a similar amount of arable land. The level ground on Townhouse Branch encompasses approximately 55 acres. This landform extends 2,950 ft (900 m) along the creek axis, and is 650 to 1,150 ft (200 m to 350 m) wide.

While the larger settlement of Buffalo Town could sustain itself, Cherokees from smaller towns found that their pre-removal communities had been so thinned by emigration and death that they were too sparse to maintain. They also feared reprisals by local whites and further removal attempts by federal agents. Therefore, many of these individuals quickly gathered on the Welch (and possibly Gideon Morris) land and established a traditional community with people from other small, pre-removal communities (see Table 1). Eleven of the families in Welch's Town by 1840 came from Hanging Dog Creek. One family from the old Hanging Dog community, led by Alkinnih, a widow,

settled in Buffalo Town. Several families who had lived on Valley River also moved to Buffalo Town, illustrating the intermarriage and other close connections between these two communities. Ten of the Welch's Town families had lived on Valley River, in the Valley Towns, prior to removal. Five families came from the Wacheesee community on Beaverdam Creek, approximately 22 km (14 miles) west of Welch's Town. Prior to removal, Wacheesee led the community, which was composed largely of his descendants. The army marched Wacheesee and his extended family to Fort Cass in the summer of 1838. Wacheesee died there, and his family escaped Fort Cass and walked back to the Beaverdam Creek area, where they were assisted by a white family for a year. The members of Welch's Town in 1840 from Beaverdam, or Wacheesee Town, included Wacheesee's widow, the families of his sons, Sam Wacheesee and Chinoque Wacheesee, Toononailuh, and Caluska, or Locust. Two families came from Fighting Town, Georgia, and one from Duck Town, Georgia. One family also came from Tusquitta Town, east of Welch's Town. A total of 30 families comprised Welch's Town in 1840.

Welch's Town grew throughout the year as Cherokees from scattered settlements heard about the settlement. Although left in relative peace, the Cherokees in these areas knew North Carolina provided them no legal rights of citizenship or land tenure. They were now largely out of hiding. However, they returned to their farms too late to gather any crops the army might not have pilfered, and therefore found themselves still fending off starvation and disease. Those who had returned to the Cheoah, Valley, and Hiwassee river valleys quickly turned for help to those sympathetic whites and, in a few cases Cherokees, whom they had known before removal. Several local white families filed claims with the government for compensating Cherokee families for up to a year after the removal (e.g. Gunter 1843; Hunter 1843; Shuler 1843). Although the Welches filed no such claims, they engaged in similar practices. This subsistence included food, clothing, and shelter, to which the Cherokees otherwise had extremely limited access. This yearlong subsistence by wealthy white and Cherokee families on Valley River marked the beginning of what would become, by the early 1840s, a successful economic adaptation to the realities of post-removal life in North Carolina.

The Welch Farm

The Welches repurchased their own land at the state auction in the fall of 1838. Much of their stores of crops and livestock had been ransacked by the army, and dozens of Cherokees searched for food and shelter after several months in the mountains. The Welches knew that Gideon Morris and George Washington Hayes, also residing along the Valley River, were housing Cherokee families, even though they had few supplies. These three households probably found one source of food at the army depot: the hasty military pullout meant that supplies purchased or taken from local whites and Cherokees were now going to waste. The army quartermaster corps sold food and fodder at a great loss in an effort to effect a hasty withdrawal from the mountains (Hetzel 1841).

Although in very ill health, John continued to act pragmatically to forestall any other removal efforts by the government. On December 24, 1838 he signed power of attorney to Betty, and she became responsible for claims and suits filed for the benefit of the family as well as sole owner of the Welch chattel property (Welch 1838b). This legal document gave Betty significant powers in dealing with claims against the government for loss of land and property. The document also made Betty a wealthy woman.

In February 1839, the six slaves taken from the Welches and who had survived the march to Fort Cass, were returned (Weeks 1843; Welch et al. 1843). Nelly, her infant, and a boy had been buried in unmarked graves, along with hundreds of Cherokees and probably other slaves as well. Details of the treatment or return of the six are unknown.

In the third week of November 1839, John Powell deeded the seven tracts of land purchased at state auction, 1,274 acres in total, to Betty Welch. The original purchase of the land in November 1838 by Powell (while John was still imprisoned at Fort Cass) was obviously a conscious choice by the family to choose the person least likely to be questioned or harassed by land agents or other whites who had interest in purchasing the land themselves. In addition to being the only white male in the household, John Powell was a militia officer. The reasons for this transfer of the farm real estate, eight months after its purchase by Powell, are unknown. It can be assumed that the Welches would

have, ideally, purchased the land themselves or performed the transfer immediately. Postponing the transaction for eight months suggests they were still unsure of the social climate: forced removal was still a real threat, and local displeasure for a continued Cherokee presence, although not uniform, was well known. Although there are no documents regarding this sentiment dating to 1839, displeasure regarding a continued Cherokee presence began appearing in local newspapers in 1840.

The transfer of land to Betty in November 1839 signified a critical legal step in an evolving legal and social battle between government and business forces and the Cherokees on Valley River. The transfer established Betty as the sole owner of the Welch farm: she legally held all land and chattel property, including buildings (several houses, a blacksmith shop, a grist mill, barns, stables, corn cribs), goods, livestock, and eight slaves. The farm comprised 1,274 acres, of which roughly 100 acres were prime agricultural land. She had a work force of Cherokees (those in Welch's Town and in her own family) and African American slaves. She also retained power of attorney for John and was therefore entitled to all funds owed him by the federal government through the Board of Cherokee Commissioners that convened several times in nearby Murphy. Beginning in 1839 and increasingly throughout the 1840s and 1850s, Betty served as the public figure associated with the Welch farm, expanding her role as the farm manager and as the spokesperson for the Cherokees who had settled on the Welch farm.

Betty maintained an unusual amount of power as a married woman in the antebellum period. Her ownership of the land occurred nine years before the Married Women's Property Act in New York. The act, the result of years of effort by reformers such as Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, attempted to curb the complete loss of legal rights of married women under the common-law tradition of *femme covert*. This tradition withheld the rights of married women to own property, acquire wealth, write a will or other contract, or sue, in their own name (Skinner 1996:90-91). Betty's control of the property is also coincident with the era of the cult of domesticity. This ideology stressed the role of women as nurturers who belonged in a domestic setting, away from the arena of business and politics (Boydston 1990; Cott 1977; Welter 1966). Betty may have been one of the few

married women in the patriarchal American South at the time who not only owned and controlled property, but interacted on an equal footing with government officials and business elites. Betty's ability to advance beyond many of the legal and social constrictions placed upon her was due in part to her willingness to ignore them. Primarily, she had ignored the social strictures on a white woman marrying a non-white man. Betty's actions should not be mistaken as modern liberalism, as revealed by the continued ownership of African American slaves. John and Betty's actions were directed by an ideology of localism and they chose to turn their backs on many mainstream ideas in both white and Cherokee culture.

As Betty gained control over the estate, more Cherokees settled on the farm. A new community began to take shape in the liminal space, a community presided over by a woman in which Cherokees and whites (including members of the military) lived together. Betty and John's willingness to ignore widely held social constraints was one of the reasons they successfully avoided removal, although at great personal cost. They made pragmatic choices as situations on the ground changed, and their ability to ignore social parameters such as the "place" of women in society, greatly expanded their range of options. An investigation of how they perceived themselves, then, is a significant step in understanding how they, and other "others" have managed to maintain their identity and, at some level, live their own lives beyond the regulating powers of modernity.

An Archaeology of Welch Family Identity

Although there is abundant documentation regarding the Welches, there is very little written by them, and nothing on their daily lives on how they felt about issues such as capitalist expansion, white settlement, or Cherokee tradition. Archaeology can address these issues, such as how the Welches saw and chose to present themselves. Archaeological research illustrates how the Welch farm was a nexus of the complexly interwoven traits of race, ethnicity, class, and gender. It serves as a microcosmic example of the evolution of perceptions of race in the antebellum South, commonly portrayed as a black and white dichotomy. The unique aspect of the Welch household, as in many households in frontier settings, is that the occupants recognized but embraced many aspects of racial

and cultural difference while much of the more modernized world increasingly established stark divisions based on these traits. Archaeological research can investigate the organization of alternative societies, in this case one based on localism.

On the Welch farm, this included different races under one roof, led by a woman. The Welches had a broad range of material to choose from. Archaeological research shows that, from that universe of choices, they selected a specific group of material items that reflected and strengthened their place in their social world. The theoretical foundation of this research involves the socialized aspects of material culture (Wylie 2002), and the interpretation of possible meanings of material culture in terms of racial, ethnic, class, and gendered identities. Daily practice such as in dress, dining, and architecture symbolized racial and ethnic identity.

The Welch site assemblage is compared to that of nearby contemporary and pre-removal sites. These comparisons establish a range of variations in material culture. Comparative sites include contemporary Cherokee, African American, and European American sites and pre-removal Cherokee sites. These data enable investigations of variation in material culture assemblages and that variation was affected by race, ethnicity, class, gender. Fine-grained contextual analyses are used to compare these assemblages as well as landscape data.

Archaeological Data

The Welch house site was located through archaeological survey and antebellum map reference in 2003. Limited archaeological testing at the site revealed three aligned cellar pits. Archaeological investigations at the Welch site resumed in 2004 and focused on the excavation of these three cellar pits. These were subjacent to an external kitchen near the Welch log house (see Chapter 3). Kitchens were often separate structures during the nineteenth century in the South. A fire burned in the fireplace almost constantly. With a separate kitchen structure, the main house was not in danger of catching fire, and the house would not be overheated during the summer months (Bishir et al. 1999:63). The three cellar pits were filled with debris around 1850. The debris included a large amount of ceramic, glass, metal, and floral and faunal remains. Most of the ceramics date to the late

1840s. A small number of sherds date as early as the 1820s; these were part of the Welch household prior to the removal.

One problem with this analysis is that the assemblage used here represents the remains deposited into the three cellar pits around 1850, roughly 10 years after the events being discussed. However, this assemblage accurately reflects the lives of the Welches during their entire tenure at the site. This is at least true for the artifact classes (kitchen, personal, and tobacco) discussed in this chapter.

Although the three pits were filled around 1850, most of the debris was pushed or swept in from the surrounding ground surface, material that was lost or deposited between the late 1830s and 1850. The exception is the mass of floral and faunal material, which was deposited in a single, short term event. These floral and faunal remains are discussed in the following chapter. A small number of ceramic sherds dates to the 1820s and 1830s (e.g. hand-painted polychrome and green shell edge wares). However, these earlier sherds are in the minority and represent materials dumped at earlier periods during the Welch occupation which found their way into the pits before or around 1850. The presence of a small number of earlier sherds in the assemblage does not affect interpretations. It might suggest that the Welches, having defined their place in southwestern North Carolina, kept much of their daily material culture unchanged.

Analysis began by sorting the material into nine broad categories based on artifact function, a classification first used by South (1977). South's grouping of historic artifacts was designed to simplify analysis and reveal distinct usage and disposal patterns of artifacts; his functional groups include kitchen, architecture, clothing, furniture, tobacco, personal, arms, activities, and bone (South 1977). Historical archaeologists have since debated the usefulness of South's categories, some suggesting that the groups are no more than archaeological bean counting. However, many archaeologists continue to use these groups as at least an initial stage of grouping and discussing artifact assemblages. This is particularly true with larger assemblages, in which some classification scheme is necessary to differentiate large numbers of artifacts.

The following discussion investigates how the Welches identified and presented themselves within the confines of the farm environment. South's classification is used because different artifact classes or groups can potentially address different kinds of cultural or social questions. Three of the nine artifact groups are used here: kitchen, personal, and tobacco. Historians, anthropologists, and archaeologists have long agreed that dining is an event that signals a range of social practices, status, and ideological beliefs of the family (e.g. Deetz 1977; Douglas and Isherwood 1979; Majewski and O'Brien 1987). Serving wares, particularly ceramics, have been discussed as public displays of wealth, power, and identity (Barker and Majewski 2006; Leone et al. 1987:287-289). Items from the personal and tobacco groups are also included. In the context of the Welch farm site, the personal group includes jewelry, and the tobacco group includes hand carved stone and clay pipes and pipe fragments. These two groups reveal more intimate details of daily life in the Welch household; these artifacts were not used for public display, but private use. Therefore they can reveal how the members of the Welch family identified themselves in an increasingly racially divided world.

The kitchen group includes material culture associated with preparing, storing, and serving food and drink (ceramics, glass vessels, tinware, and utensils). However, within this study I use only the ceramic assemblage. The ceramic assemblage from the Welch house site represents 83 percent of the entire artifact assemblage (excluding floral and faunal remains). In addition, ceramics provide much more information on dining habits, status, class, and gender, than do the small number of glass and flatware items and degraded tin fragments from the site.

Ceramics

The Welches had a wide variety of ceramic kitchen wares to choose from: handmade Cherokee ceramics, mass-produced utilitarian whitewares from England and the United States, expensive sets of porcelain and bone china. As with the other families around them, they chose a specific pattern of cooking and serving vessels from a broad universe of choices that reflected their own view of their place in the world.

Ceramic analyses on historic sites have been used to investigate dining patterns, wealth, status, and acceptance or rejection of western ideologies (e.g. Deetz 1977; Miller 1991; Noel Hume 1969). Within the past ten years these historical archaeological studies have begun to focus explicitly on the household as the proper scale of investigation (Allison 1999; Barile and Brandon 2004). This is partly due to the presence of historical documentation that provides household-level data on the people investigated. This research also implicitly or explicitly presents the household as the primary locus of creation and use of the symbolic aspects of material culture (Barker and Majewski 2006). Much of this research in the United States has focused on African American slave or free black house sites. These studies often investigate ceramic assemblages to compare slave life with the lives of plantation owners, overseers, or poor whites; ceramics are often used to extract patterns of material acquisition and meaning for enslaved and other oppressed groups (Adams and Boling 1989; Ferguson 1992; Joseph 1989; Singleton 1985, 1991). Only within the past ten years has there been an expansion of investigations of nineteenth century Indian sites that deal with these issues (a small number of such studies earlier include Burley 1988; Burley et al. 1992; Lightfoot et al. 1993). These investigations generally focus on Indian peoples' negotiations of western ideologies of individualism, wealth acquisition, capitalism, and Christianity (Lightfoot et al. 1998; Rubertone 2000; Schurr et al. 2006). They often note the broad universe of material culture that Indians had to choose from during the nineteenth century. This was certainly the case with the Welch family; they had access to Cherokee material culture that was still widely used in more traditional communities, as well as a wide range of mass-produced materials that were more widely available during this era, even in the relatively isolated mountains of western North Carolina. The material assemblage from the Welch site suggests an acceptance of western dining practices, but a disregard for fancier, more formal western dining etiquette and a rejection of many items of Cherokee origin.

The ceramic assemblage recovered from the Welch site consists of 642 sherds (Appendix A). Analysis identified a minimum of 108 food preparation, storage, and serving vessels (Table 3). The minimum number of vessels, or MNV, is commonly used by historic archaeologists and considered to

Table 3. Minimum number of ceramics vessels by decorative style.

decoration	plate	cup	saucer	bowl	platter	mug	creamer	sugar bowl	gravy boat	churn	crock	unidentified	Total
shell-edged	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30
hand-painted	3	8	9	3	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	26
transfer-printed	3	2	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	14
sponge-decorated	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
dipped	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	6
luster-glazed	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
alkaline-glazed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	0	7
undecorated	3	3	5	6	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	21
TOTAL	40	13	18	17	1	2	1	1	1	1	6	7	108

provide a more realistic account of ceramics used by site occupants than sherd counts (Miller 1991). Within the Welch site MNV, forty of the vessels were plates. The most common plate decoration was a style called shell-edged: the outer edge of the plate was impressed or embossed with wavy or straight lines, which were covered with blue or green paint applied beneath the glaze (Figures 17, 18). The assemblage contains twenty-five blue shell-edged plates. Nearly a quarter of the MNV, these plates are by far the most common vessel type in the assemblage. Three transfer-printed plates are present. Transfer printing was a decorative style in which skilled laborers applied a decal, or transfer, onto the unfired vessel. These transfers were produced in several colors and patterns. These three plates include two purple and one red transfer-printed forms. The transfer patterns are all romantic landscape scenes, common in the 1830s and 1840s (Coysh and Henrywood 1982:10). A maker's mark on the base of one transfer-printed bowl reads "TJ & J Mayer": Thomas, John and Joseph Mayer operated the Furlong Works and Dale Hall pottery in Burslem, England, from 1843 through 1855 (Coysh and Henrywood 1982:242), revealing a *terminus post quem* of 1842. The ceramic MNV includes three hand-painted plates. Hand-painted designs were most commonly floral patterns using green, red, blue, and black paints applied prior to glazing and firing. The production of hand-painted vessels, usually with one or more annular-painted bands along the outer rim, was most popular from



Figure 17. Reconstructed blue shell-edged plate.

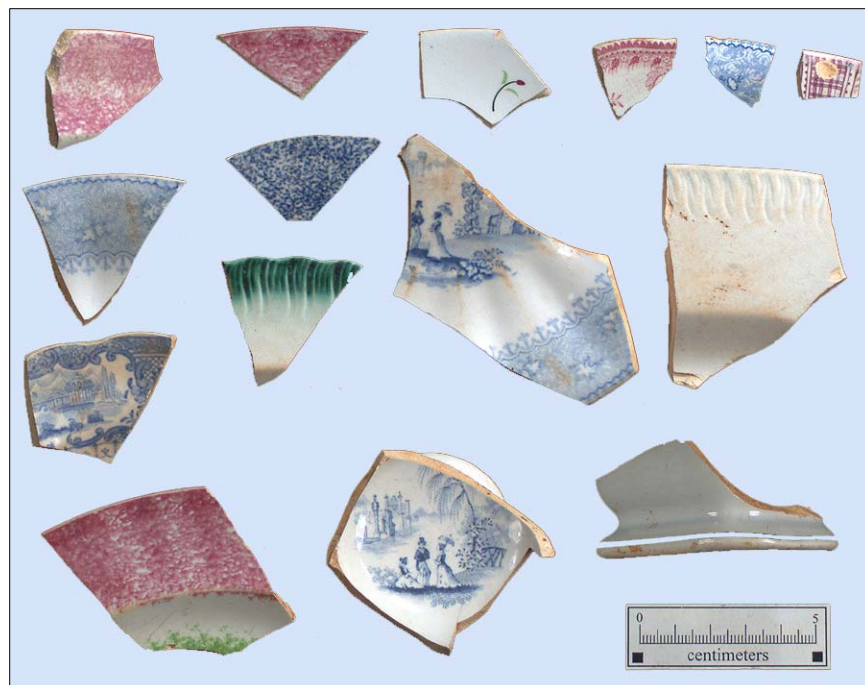


Figure 18. Decorated whiteware sherds.

the 1830s through the 1860s (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:159). These three plates were probably used by the Welches prior to the removal. A single sponge-decorated plate was recovered. This style, popular in the 1830s, was created by applying paint to a cut sponge and pressing it onto the surface of the unfired vessel (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:161).

Cups and saucers are also common in the assemblage, and include thirteen transfer-printed, hand-painted, and undecorated cups and 18 transfer-printed, hand-painted, sponge-decorated, and undecorated saucers. Cups include eight thin-walled, delicate hand-painted, handle-less teacups, common through the 1830s. Two transfer-printed and three undecorated cups were probably used in the 1840s for tea or coffee consumption. John Powell purchased eight pounds of coffee for the Welches on January 24, 1837 at A.R.S. Hunter's store in Murphy (Hunter 1836-1838). It is possible that the Welches also used tin cups for coffee drinking. Nine of the 18 saucers are hand-painted.

Sixteen bowls consist of six transfer-printed, three hand-painted, five undecorated, one dipped and trailed, and one redware luster glaze vessels. These small bowls (all have a rim diameter between 4.25 and 6 inches) were used for food preparation but more commonly as serving vessels for soups, stews, or side dishes at meals. The remaining vessels in the assemblage include a faceted sugar bowl, a gravy boat, a square or rectangular platter, a creamer or small pitcher, and two mugs.

The ceramic MNV includes eight alkaline-glazed stoneware vessels. Alkaline-glazed stoneware was produced throughout the nineteenth century in central and western North Carolina (Zug 1986:70-104). This stoneware tradition was created through necessity as early white settlers needed large storage vessels to store vegetables and other perishable food items. Common vessel forms included wide-mouthed jars, constricted-rim jugs, milk crocks or pans, and churns. Storage capacity for these vessels ranged from one pint to one gallon for storing jams, baking powder, sugar, tobacco, coffee, vinegar, cider, molasses, or whiskey, to one to five gallons (rarely ten and fifteen gallon vessels were produced) for storing fruit, butter, or salted meat (Zug 1986:288-315). Churns were commonly two to five gallons, used to produce and store butter. These stonewares were made from local clays, and the alkaline glazes were produced using sand, ashes, lime, and crushed glass, creating an effective and

cheap way to produce storage vessels. Alkaline-glazed stoneware vessels were ubiquitous in the region in the nineteenth century, and these sherds have been recovered from most nineteenth-century sites (Riggs 1996, 1999; Riggs et al 2001; Shumate et al. 2000). Seven vessels of unidentified form comprise the remainder of the ceramic MNV. These include two redware and one yellowware vessels.

Studies of nineteenth-century ceramic use from an economic standpoint have shown that different kinds of ceramics were ranked hierarchically by cost, and therefore by status (Miller 1991). Miller compiled historical lists of potter's production costs and bills of sale to rank costs. Hierarchical cost ranking by potters was largely by method of decoration: the most labor-intensive work or work requiring a skilled labor force meant the most expensive ceramics.

Miller's ranking for the period in question (ca. 1840) reveals the cheapest ceramics were the undecorated wares, which required no labor for decorating the pieces before or after firing. Next was a group of decorated wares including shell-edging, sponge-decoration, and annular wares, which could be produced by unskilled labor. Ranking above these were the hand-painted wares, which also required labor by skilled or semi-skilled workers. Next were the transfer-printed wares, because of the expense of applying transfers one at a time by skilled laborers. The most expensive wares available were Chinese and English porcelains (Miller 1991:12-22).

The Welch ceramic MNV data were applied to Miller's index. The entire assemblage falls quite low on the Miller index. First, out of 108 vessels, only one is porcelain. This undecorated, London-style teacup without a handle was probably purchased individually, not as part of a set. Transfer-printed wares, which also rank high on the Miller index, are present in low percentages for all vessel forms except bowls, of which forty percent are transfer-printed. The high number of more expensive decorations on bowls is unusual. The bowls recovered from the assemblage ranged in diameter from 4.25 to 6 inches. Most were relatively shallow and include footed and footless forms. A wide range of decorations include purple, red, and blue transfer prints, red, green, purple, brown, and black hand-painted wares, brown and tan dipped vessels, and undecorated bowls. Alternatively, cups and saucers

were mostly hand-painted. These thin walled, delicate vessels were hand painted with fine-line floral patterns with green, black, red, and blue and often contained a single annular band along the rim of the vessel. The presence of a large number of cups and saucers but no fragments of a teapot or coffee pot suggests the Welches used tinware items at the table. Although not included in this analysis, numerous rusted fragments of tinware were recovered from the site.

Shell-edged wares include only plates, but comprise 80 percent of the plate assemblage. This widely available and inexpensive form was mass produced in England and the United States and found nationwide by 1850 (e.g. Burley 1988; Lightfoot et al. 1998; Schurr et al. 2006). In addition to being inexpensive, they were also easy to match: even with shell edged wares made by different potters, the style was so similar that they were difficult to discern. These plates were more common than their undecorated counterparts, and it is therefore difficult to ascertain whether Betty made an effort to match colors at the table or whether these were simply the easiest and cheapest to purchase. However, looking through the entire vessel assemblage, the variety of decorations and colors is impressive: prints, hand-painting, shell-edged plates, and sponge decorations, in blue, brown, red, purple, green, yellow, black, and tan. Although historical archaeologists often discuss the desire by many people in the nineteenth century to acquire matched sets, it is possible that, for some people, a variety of colors added to the table. In addition to the numerous plates, bowls, cups, and saucers, the vessel assemblage also contained a black-banded gravy boat, a sugar bowl, a platter, a creamer or small pitcher, and two mugs. These vessel forms were not discussed in Miller's index analysis, and therefore not included in the discussion. However, these unique vessel forms in the Welch house added to the more standard and utilitarian forms already discussed.

As with vessel decorations, ceramic wares reveal a lack of expensive or status ceramic forms in the Welch household. The vast majority of ceramic sherds are inexpensive wares: whiteware, pearlware, redware, and stoneware. A single bone china sherd which represents a London style, handle-less tea cup is the only expensive piece of pottery recovered from the assemblage. Although the Welches maintained extensive wealth, they didn't purchase expensive goods, even though they

were available locally. They purchased utilitarian forms for daily use: plates, saucers, cups, and bowls.

Even during the brief era of military occupation, the Welches maintained substantial wealth, and they quickly reestablished themselves as one of the wealthiest families in the area. However, the Welch's goal for wealth attainment manifested itself in different forms than for many wealthy whites in the region. Even though the region was considered extremely isolated, nearby stores carried a surprising variety of goods. Most of these outlets were operated by William Holland Thomas, a white entrepreneur who had established himself as a leader of the Cherokees and who was attempting to maintain a homeland for them in the mountains of North Carolina. Thomas, well educated with a law degree, displayed his wealth in various ways. Regarding dining, he and his wife set table with a variety of matched and expensive wares. For example, on June 15, 1856, Thomas's wife purchased three sets of plates, three "dish plates" (large oval or rectangular platters), two sets of teacups and saucers, six mugs, four bowls, six glass tumblers, two pressed glass plates, and a pitcher from one of his stores (Thomas 1856). This purchase included expensive forms such as platters and pressed glass. It also revealed that Thomas's wife was purchasing dishes in matched sets as well as making an expensive, one-time purchase of a full set of dining wares, as opposed to purchasing dishes in piecemeal fashion. In contrast to Thomas's family, the Welches were not concerned with such forms of display.

The ceramic assemblage from the Welch site is similar in many aspects to that of the McCombs cabin site, occupied by African American slaves, and the Hawkins-Sourjohn cabin site, occupied by white tenants (Table 4). Whitewares dominate each ceramic assemblage. Whitewares are nearly ubiquitous on mid nineteenth century sites, and are usually represented by blue shell-edged plates and transfer-printed and hand-painted cups and saucers, as at these three sites. Roughly 10 percent of each ceramic assemblage is comprised of alkaline-glazed stoneware, illustrating the significance of this ceramic form in food preservation. The remainder of each assemblage is made up of small numbers of other wares, such as creamware, pearlware, and yellowware. The McCombs assemblage contains

Table 4. Ceramic wares from Welch and nearby contemporary sites.

	Welch		McCombs		Hawkins-Sourjohn	
	count	%	count	%	count	%
whiteware	542	84	799	64	77	83
stoneware	64	10	109	8	9	10
pearlware	4	<1	128	10	2	2
other wares*	32	5	112	9	2	2
unidentified	0	0	97	8	3	3
Total	642	100	1245	100	93	100

*the Welch assemblage included ironstone, yellowware, redware, creamware, and china; McCombs porcelain, semi-porcelain, china, creamware, yellowware, creamware, and graniteware; Hawkins-Sourjohn yellowware, creamware, and pearlware

several porcelain, semi-porcelain, and bone china sherds. In some situations slaves were able to make small amounts of cash for their labor (Dunaway 2003; Inscoc 1996); the presence of porcelain sherds suggests either this occurrence or expensive wares given by the McCombs to their slaves. It is significant that these three ceramic assemblages, representing different racial, ethnic, and economic backgrounds, are so similar. In this case, mass-produced ceramics do not illustrate class differences; they do reflect attitudes regarding class and wealth.

The absence of status goods in the ceramic assemblage from the Welch site reveals the social world within which Betty chose to exist. She did not purchase nor use items that would have allowed her entry into the elite planter households. She and John fully rejected this world, for several reasons. First was their long term belief in the ideology of localism as revealed in their 1819 reservee status and their participation in active resistance during removal. Second, they had been ejected from their reservation by wealthy whites in 1822, strengthening their dislike for this group and lifestyle. Historical archaeologists have provided a few examples in the Southern United States in which relatively wealthy farmers chose not to spend money on luxury items. In a study of a white farming family near Aiken, South Carolina, Cabak and Groover (2006) found that the family maintained a utilitarian grade of ceramics throughout four generations. As with the Welches perhaps, wealth acquisition did not mean associating with elites or exhibiting wealth. Instead, it meant achieving a

level of financial security. Particularly in periods of marginalization such as the removal era for the Cherokees, wealth was insecure, and therefore cash was often hoarded.

An interesting aspect of the assemblage is the groups of artifacts that are absent. One glaring omission is handmade Cherokee pottery, termed the Qualla series by archaeologists (Egloff 1967). Antecedents of handmade Cherokee ceramics date to the fifteenth century (Dickens 1979; Ward and Davis 1999:178-179). The later styles of Qualla ceramics were usually check stamped (Figure 19); this surface treatment dates from roughly 1750 through the early twentieth century (Fewkes 1944; Harrington 1908; Riggs 1996:103). These vessels retained deep historical presence, symbolic and social meanings, and specific functional uses for the preparation and consumption of traditional Cherokee foods. During the nineteenth century (and earlier), the most common Qualla ceramic vessel form was a large wide-mouthed jar. These jars were used to store *kanohena*, or sour corn mush, and were often left within or outside Cherokee cabins, and visitors were welcome to eat from the jar (Mooney 1982:452, 524; Riggs 1996:105):

A large earthen jar of kanahe'na, with a wooden spoon upright in it, is always upon a bench just inside the cabin door, for every visitor to help himself [Mooney 1982:452].

These jars served to express and strengthen Cherokee hospitality and communalism:

Within such communal dining contexts, native vessels became a focal element in the informal ritual of corporate consumption, an activity that reinforced the corporate nature of traditional Cherokee society [Riggs 1999:290].

The absence of Qualla sherds in the Welch site assemblage seems to indicate a rejection by that family of this traditional form of welcome. It is unknown if this action reflects a rejection of certain aspects of Cherokee tradition or, alternatively, a perceived need to downplay any association with Cherokees or Cherokee culture. Both prior to and after the removal, Betty was in charge of food preparation, serving, and storage. Therefore she was in charge of such daily decisions as whether to purchase Cherokee-made ceramics.

Betty's view on Qualla ceramics was articulated by several principles: she fully embraced the lifestyle of localism, and had lived within Cherokee communities her entire adult life. However, she



Figure 19. Qualla sherd from early nineteenth century Essuttee site (from Riggs and Greene 2007).

was also a wealthy white, and, after the removal, the mistress of a large estate. Even before the removal, the Welch farm was a major focal point on the landscape. The farm complex was situated on an elevated knoll which commanded a view for several miles up and down the Valley River valley and along the Western Turnpike, a heavily traveled thoroughfare. Betty was fully aware of the visual impact of their farm on the landscape, and, particularly after removal, the display of traditional Cherokee foodways and associated "dirt pots" may have been too conspicuous.

In addition to the significant social meaning of these vessel forms, specific techno-functional aspects of Qualla ceramics were well known at the time. Two long term staples of Cherokee diet were hominy and sour corn mush, and traditional technologies were ideally suited for their preparation and consumption:

Metal vessels, while superior to native ceramics for direct heat cooking, were corroded by the strongly alkaline conditions of lye processing and by the acidic conditions created by sour corn mush fermentation. This leaching of metals disflavored and discolored the resulting product. In addition, the semiporous native earthenwares used for fermentation of sour corn mush, or *kanohena*, harbored

appropriate yeast cultures that facilitated the process of fermentation. Impervious glazed stoneware or metal vessels could not harbor these cultures, and *kanohena* prepared in such vessels was subject to rot rather than fermentation (Riggs 1999:289).

Although the absence of Qualla ceramics from the Welch site suggests the Welches were not involved in the social aspects of these vessel uses, it probably does not mean they were not eating these kinds of foods. Hominy and corn mush had long been two common methods of preparing corn for Indians in the Southern United States, and remained staples through the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries. The Welches probably stored hominy in alkaline-glazed stoneware vessels. The remains of seven alkaline-glazed storage vessels were recovered from the site. Although, from a technical standpoint, these vessels were not as good for hominy storage as Qualla vessels, they worked better than metal containers; white farmers have long used, and continue to use, stoneware for this purpose. Maintaining sour corn mush is a more delicate matter: without proper bacterial growth, it is a difficult food to prepare. The Welches may not have prepared this food, or they might have made do with stoneware.

Although absent at the Welch farm, Qualla ceramics were commonly used, at least up to the removal. Primary accounts reveal that many traditional Cherokee families continued to practice communal dining patterns such as sharing food from a large, communal pot (Riggs 1999:265; Taylor 1828) and felt people should "eat when you are hungry" as opposed to a series of scheduled meals (Evans 1979). At the removal period Chewkeeskee site, 456 Qualla sherds, but only 18 whiteware sherds, were recovered (Riggs 1999:381, 390). This traditional Cherokee family seemed to have shunned western dining styles and wares. The Christie cabin site, although contemporary with the Chewkeeskee site, exhibits a very different artifact pattern. John Christie was the head of a wealthy Cherokee family living on Hiwassee River, roughly 24 km (15 miles) downstream from the Welch farm. The ceramic assemblage includes a diverse collection of utilitarian whiteware sherds, a small number of porcelain sherds, and several Qualla series sherds (Riggs 1996:124-149, 1999:404-442). The Christie family obviously embraced, simultaneously, western notions of wealth display and Cherokee practices of food consumption. Alternatively, the presence of a well-stocked, if utilitarian,

collection of whiteware, such as in the Welch household, may suggest a more complete acceptance of western modes of individualized and scheduled dining. The Welches may have rejected Qualla ceramics before the removal. Several pearlware sherds dating to the 1820s and early 1830s were recovered from the site, suggesting this earlier occupation by the Welches is represented in the assemblage. The absence of Qualla sherds may indicate the family did not acquire or use this type of vessel during any period of their occupation of the farm on Valley River.

Personal Group Artifacts

The second artifact group, discussed by South as the personal group (South 1977) includes items that, as opposed to functional groups such as kitchen or architecture, are tied to personal or intimate behaviors. Personal group artifacts are also used to express political and cultural views. These items also reflect different spheres of exchange (Kopytoff 1988) that are guided by ethnic and gendered identities and are associated with different kinds of goods.

South's personal group includes items of "personal adornment" such as jewelry. Within the Welch assemblage, this group includes numerous glass beads and remnants of hand-cut brass earrings (Figure 20). The earring remnants represent a type of jewelry commonly produced in Europe and America. This nineteenth century version of costume jewelry was inexpensive and commonly available at outlets such as the store in nearby Murphy (Thomas 1841). Perhaps surprising is the small number of such items in the assemblage. At the removal era house site of the Christie family, several earrings with inset spherical and teardrop glass beads were recovered even though the occupation was of a much shorter duration (Riggs 1996:144; 1999:433).

Twenty glass beads were recovered from the Welch site cellar pits. Sixteen are of similar manufacture and appearance. These sixteen are faceted, described as cornerless heptagons, although they can be six, seven, or eight sided (Figure 20). Most are dark blue (ultramarine), but black, amethyst, emerald, and colorless versions are also present. These faceted beads have been recovered from nineteenth century archaeological sites in many parts of the world, including Alaska and Canada (Jenkins 1975; Mille 1975), the United States mainland (Good 1972; Mille 1975), Guatemala

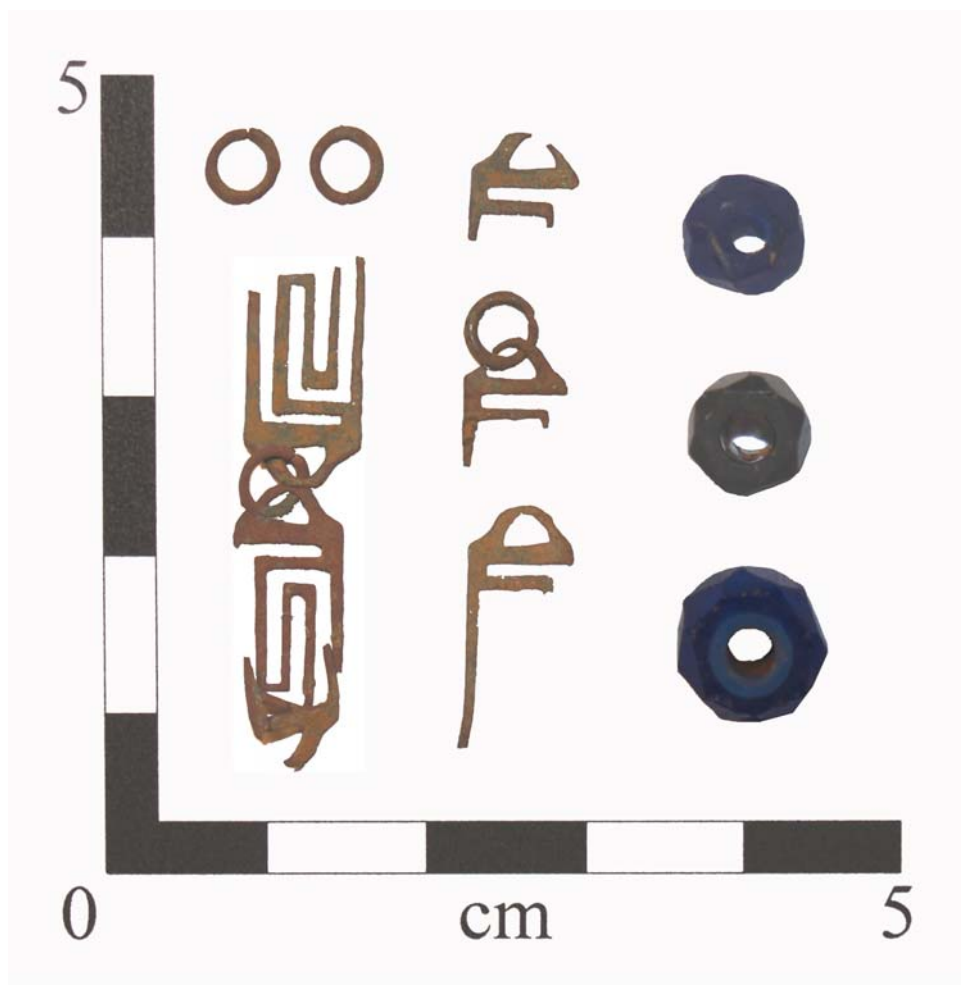


Figure 20. Segments of brass earring or necklace; faceted glass beads.

(Johnson 1975), Israel (Pfeiffer 1983), and Iran and Egypt (Francis 1980:16). They are commonly referred to as "Russian Blue," "Bristol Blue," "Hudson's Bay," "chief," or "ambassador" beads (Pfeiffer 1983:208). The remaining four are unfaceted, wire wound beads.

Strands of glass beads were regularly purchased by Cherokees and whites during the 1830s and 1840s (Hunter 1836-1838; Thomas 1841:191, 199). Glass beads are nearly ubiquitous on mid-nineteenth century sites in the area, and were recovered from Cherokee (Welch), white (Hawkins-Sourjohn) and African American (McCombs) sites (Riggs 1999, 2000; Shumate et al. 2000). Documentary sources suggest that, in addition to being purchased at local stores, glass beads were also collected from Indian mound and village sites (Shumate et al. 2000).

The presence of sixteen faceted beads of similar size and appearance suggests these may have been strung or sewn onto a single item which was broken or torn and the beads dispersed. This event may have occurred while the three cellar pits were being backfilled with soil and trash, the wearer inadvertently catching his or her hand on the beaded article and dispersing a large number of glass beads across the ground. These relatively large beads were usually strung onto necklaces for women to wear, while, in traditional Cherokee dress, smaller "seed" beads were sewn into both women's and men's articles of clothing (Riggs 1999:273-274). However, it is possible that these larger beads were used as a decorative device on an article of men's clothing such as a beaded belt or garter. Most beaded necklaces in the area were worn by women, and it is possible that Betty Welch was the wearer when the beads were dispersed. The Welches had three daughters still living with them around the time the pits were filled (in 1850, Martha Ann was about 16 years old, Rebecca was about 15, and Stacy was 11), and one of these girls may have been wearing the strand of beads. If so, these artifacts provide our only glimpse into the lives of these three individuals who were young children at the time of removal (Betty was pregnant with daughter Stacey in the summer of 1838).

Instead of placing tobacco-related artifacts within the personal group, South created a separate Tobacco Group. This is because, during the historic era, pipes contained numerous distinctive physical characteristics that provide information on date and location of production (South 1977).

However, when considering the use of pipes from the consumer standpoint, these items and the act of smoking can appropriately be placed in the personal group. Pipes are included because they reveal, as does jewelry, personal or intimate aspects of the Welch family.

Historically, an indigenous species of tobacco (*Nicotiana rustica*) served numerous roles in magic, ritual, and medicine for the Cherokee (Mooney 1982). During the nineteenth century, tobacco (both *N. rustica* and *N. tabacum*, imported from the West Indies) continued to serve these functions, but also had become used in a social or recreational role, and Cherokees commonly smoked tobacco from mass-produced clay pipes and hand-carved chlorite-schist pipes. Molded clay pipes were available from local outlets for \$0.10 and \$0.25 (Hunter 1836-1838). Cherokee men also continued to carve their own stone pipes; chlorite-schist pebbles were readily available in local stream beds. These pipes were elbow shaped, with a small vertical bowl and a short, stub stem. After carving, a hollow reed was inserted into the short stem for smoking. One such hand-carved pipe, fragments of two others, and fragments of a molded clay pipe were recovered from the Welch assemblage (Figure 21). Although molded clay pipes were inexpensive, the manufacture of a stone pipe by one's own hand still maintained significance in both a historical connection to a traditional Cherokee past and to the formalized activity of tobacco smoking. The selection of proper raw materials, the carving of a specific size and form, and the continued use of the pipe, all related to the personal and social significance of this activity. For John Welch and his adult sons, smoking a carved stone pipe was not a social or political statement towards local whites. It served as a more intimate statement for those within the household and for the Cherokees of Welch's Town. While many of Betty's statements through material culture were directed at the outside world, John's statements were a connection to traditional Cherokee beliefs and principles. This was increasingly the case after the removal, at which time Betty became the primary leader of the farm, and John played a lesser role in external affairs. These associations were also reflected in their differing spheres of exchange. Betty participated more fully in local capitalist markets and acquired, through cash purchase, goods that were mass produced and circulating in the market economy. John, alternatively, participated in a local sphere of exchange



Figure 21. Chlorite-schist pipe.

that was marked by intimate personal, family, and clan relationships through which he acquired and disseminated a range of handmade goods.

Hand-carved chlorite-schist pipes have been recovered from several pre-removal Cherokee sites in the area, including the John Christie and Chewkeeskee cabin sites (Riggs 1999). The ubiquity of this item suggests it served to strengthen social ties between Cherokee men. Examples of this style of pipe were also found at the McCombs slave cabin, although this might represent surface collections of nearby historic Cherokee sites by the McCombs's slaves (Riggs 2000).

Stone pipes are only a small portion of a much broader constellation of worked stone recovered from early through mid-nineteenth century Cherokee sites. Hand-carved stone items include, in addition to pipes, carved and polished gaming stones, carved and drilled pebbles used as net weights, and a variety of other types of carved stone items with unidentified uses. Removal-era Cherokee sites contained these kinds of materials, including Chewkeeskee, John Christie, Buzzard, and Lawlo (Riggs 1999; Riggs and Greene 2007). Worked stone from the Welch site includes four carved and polished disks, a sandstone whetstone, several modified and unmodified pebbles, and a long, oval pebble with linear incisions on both surfaces (Figure 22).

One key characteristic of these stone assemblages is the evidence of stone working on site; post-removal assemblages from the Welch site and removal era assemblages from the Chewkeeskee and John Christie sites all contained stone artifacts broken during manufacture. In contrast, neither of the post-removal non-Cherokee sites excavated nearby, McCombs and Hawkins-Sourjohn (Riggs 1999; Shumate et al. 2000), contained a varied collection of stone artifacts or evidence of stone working. While stone pipes do appear in the assemblages of Cherokee and non-Cherokee sites, the broader assemblage of stone artifacts and evidence of stone modification on site may be a clear marker of Cherokee ethnicity during the era.

Conclusions

The forced Cherokee removal in 1838 was a conscious and explicit act formulated by the federal government to modernize the land and people within a massive, internal tract of land. Ironically, most



Figure 22. Worked stone.

of those Cherokees who embraced modernization through the practice of western modes of education, wealth acquisition, and farming, by and large were subject to military detention and removal. Those Cherokees who had consistently refused these modernizing forces ultimately remained in North Carolina. They remained through active resistance to forced removal by fleeing the wave of armed soldiers sweeping through the mountainous portion of the old Cherokee Nation. These families paid a tremendous price: loss of home and property and starvation, sickness, and death of numerous family members, particularly the young and aged. Their resistance to removal was founded in maintaining community-level control of their lives and allowing no broader arm of governance, be it from the Cherokee Nation or the United States, to impose laws and restrictions. Most of the Cherokees who hid in the mountains during the occupation had already subscribed to these ideas for decades. They were citizen reservees of the 1819 treaty, and had already formally rejected the Cherokee Nation, choosing to live in the liminal space of the border between the United States and the Cherokee Nation.

In the face of military occupation, however, they found a way, as they had in the past, to use the liminal spaces to their advantage. With the aid of John and Betty Welch and others, they used existing laws to their own ends. They turned their backs on many standard social precepts of racial/ethnic division (with the exception of African American slavery) and gender stratification. They were successful because they embraced the differences that others could not, the key to what little power they had. Their "front man" was a woman who could not read or write, unlike other local leaders such as William Holland Thomas, an educated, experienced lawyer and business man whose life was recently fictionalized in the novel *Thirteen Moons*. But within Betty's confidence was John Powell, an educated man who had the prestige and power of being a military officer. Betty and John Welch participated in both Cherokee and white worlds. That is one reason they were so important to traditional Cherokee families — they could navigate the political terrain when most Cherokees could not. The Welch children could do so even more, as revealed by their various marriages to military

officers, traditional Cherokees, and western educated whites. Their youngest son, Lloyd, became the second chief of the North Carolina Cherokees, and supported traditional Cherokee causes.

A narrative of the Welch family during this period illustrates the complexities of the issues of race, class, and gender, and their alteration through alternative ideologies. Betty was a wealthy white woman, but had grown up with the ideology of localism as a guiding principle. John and Betty Welch rejected the value system of the wealthy white planters and found ways to sidestep aspects of modernization for which they had no use. In particular, Betty used the liminal space to subvert traditional gender roles and successfully participated in public affairs that were usually considered the domain of men.

This research focuses on how the Welches acquired the ability to navigate disparate social worlds so successfully, of being able to obstruct the goals of military occupation and state control. To do this required finding out how they lived on an everyday level, how they presented and viewed themselves within this world of stark racial, ethnic, and class divisions. Archaeological data show that John and Betty Welch operated in separate spheres of influence, their roles strengthened through distinct sets of material culture. The artifact assemblages illustrate a gender-based differentiation in material culture, with a prevalence of mass-produced, purchased items associated with women's activities and of handmade items associated with men's. At first glance, this seems a logical and simple finding: a white woman buying whitewares, and a Cherokee man using handmade Cherokee items. However, this explanation doesn't tell the real story. Betty had spent her entire life in or near Cherokee communities, and John had, for decades, embraced many aspects of Western culture. So, why does so much of the assemblage seem to divide quite cleanly along gender and racial lines? I think it's due to the situation the Welches found themselves in after removal. Betty may not have desired to be the head of household and spokesperson for so many people, but, having been forced into this role, she performed it fully. Part of this role was to present to the public the image of a Southern plantation. She regularly hosted meetings at the house, which had been a hub of activity for decades. People from outside the farm, meeting with Betty, would have seen only what she wanted

them to see: a material culture based in Western ideals. Alternatively, visible only to family members and more intimate guests, John maintained more traditional practices and relationships, partly through the use of traditional Cherokee items. In addition to stone pipes, there is a large number and variety of worked stone artifacts.

The removal, at ground level, was about race: creating a society in which whites controlled land and labor. However, by sidestepping the military occupation and white settlement of the region, the Welches and the Cherokees of Welch's Town broadened the range of possibilities, the breadth of dialogue for and about themselves and other "others" in the region. At the heart of the Welch narrative is the idea that people have continually found ways to slip through the gaps in modernity. These behaviors continue to the present day; forces of modernization continually alter the methods of their pursuits, but marginalized people continue to thwart their goals of social and economic domination.

CHAPTER 7

"THOSE DELUDED PEOPLE": CLIENTELISM ON THE WELCH FARM (1840-1852)

This settlement are principally full blood Cherokees and completely subservient to the will of Mrs. Welch, a white woman (wife of John Welch, Cherokee) and she under the control and influence of Mr. Thomas. Mrs. Welch has considerable shrewdness—and understands how to manage ignorant Indians to suit her purpose...they labor for her, almost constantly and answer every purpose of slaves—she spares no pains to keep up their prejudices against the West and tells them they can always have the privilege of using her land and residing upon it...this arrangement meets the approbation of Mr. Thomas because he contrrolls [sic] a very large number in the same way and to avoid collision with Mrs. Welch he has to surrender a portion of *those deluded people* for her use [Hindman 1841].

I succeeded for last court in getting appointed guardian for the Indian boy you mentioned in a former letter and now enclose you the power of attorney to act for me, in regards the dissatisfaction of Thompson Kilchuler and wife. I purchased their claim fairly and honorably. Henry Smith was present and interpreted they understood correctly the whole matter and was perfectly satisfied until that Demon in Human shape called Mrs Welch thought proper to interfere, and the Gnat John Timpson after a long time persuading them got them to agree to write the 2nd Auditor [King 1844].

On December 14, 1841, Charles Hindman, temporary federal agent to the Cherokees in North Carolina, rode up the Franklin Road to the Welch farm on Valley River. Arriving at the log house on the hill, he was greeted by Betty Welch. Gathered at the Welch house were 45 Cherokees, roughly half the residents of Welch's Town. Hindman was there for one purpose: to convince the Cherokees in North Carolina to emigrate west of the Mississippi River. This "voluntary removal" was the latest in a series of attempts by the federal government to unite all Cherokee people; the underlying motive was to simplify the task of settling past treaty obligations by organizing all Cherokees into a single group. While in Washington D.C., Hindman had convinced Secretary of War Albert Lea and Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas Hartley Crawford that he could arrange the emigration of the North Carolina Cherokees. Although he presented this as a relatively simple task, in reality it was a nearly impossible goal, especially because the frugal Tyler administration refused to finance any such move. Hindman rationalized it was in the best interest of the Cherokees to emigrate, to separate them from

corrupt whites. Once in North Carolina, he considered William Holland Thomas and Betty Welch the worst of these.

Although strongly influenced by personal animosity towards Thomas and possibly towards any woman in power, Hindman's letter to Commissioner Hartley Crawford is one of the earliest inquiries into the methods and motives of the patrons of the eastern Cherokee after the removal. Were these individuals exploiting the Cherokees' tenuous situation to acquire a cheap, almost slave-like labor pool? Or were they acting in an altruistic manner for groups of refugee Cherokees for whom they had sympathy? Southern Appalachian historians have long examined these questions, and come to many conclusions (e.g. Finger 1984; Godbold and Russell 1990; Russell 1956).

The main goal of this chapter is to investigate the Welch motives in their participation of the creation and maintenance of a traditional Cherokee community: did they help keep the Cherokees in the area to create a vast labor pool for themselves, or as an altruistic act towards a group they had been closely connected to for years? Investigation of these issues requires a definition of the economic relationship between the Welch family and the Cherokees of Welch's Town. Did the Cherokees provide labor to the Welch plantation economy? If so, what forms did this labor take? Did they, as Hindman suggests, act almost as slaves? I address this question through an investigation of the documentary and archaeological evidence. As in the previous chapter, a rich body of primary documents provides a narrative of Welch's Town. Contemporary documents relating to the Cherokees on Valley River for this period are numerous and varied: censuses and rolls, government agent journals, business and personal correspondence, and travel writing. Archaeological data then illuminate the lives of the Welches and help explain their methods and motives for the creation and maintenance of Welch's Town.

By 1840, the Welch farm functioned as a relatively self-contained plantation, incorporating a large and diverse work force (Figure 23). The Welches sustained many relationships with the diverse groups of workers on their farm, including master-slave with the 8-10 African Americans they owned, patron-client with roughly 85 Cherokees, and landlord-tenant with one or more families of

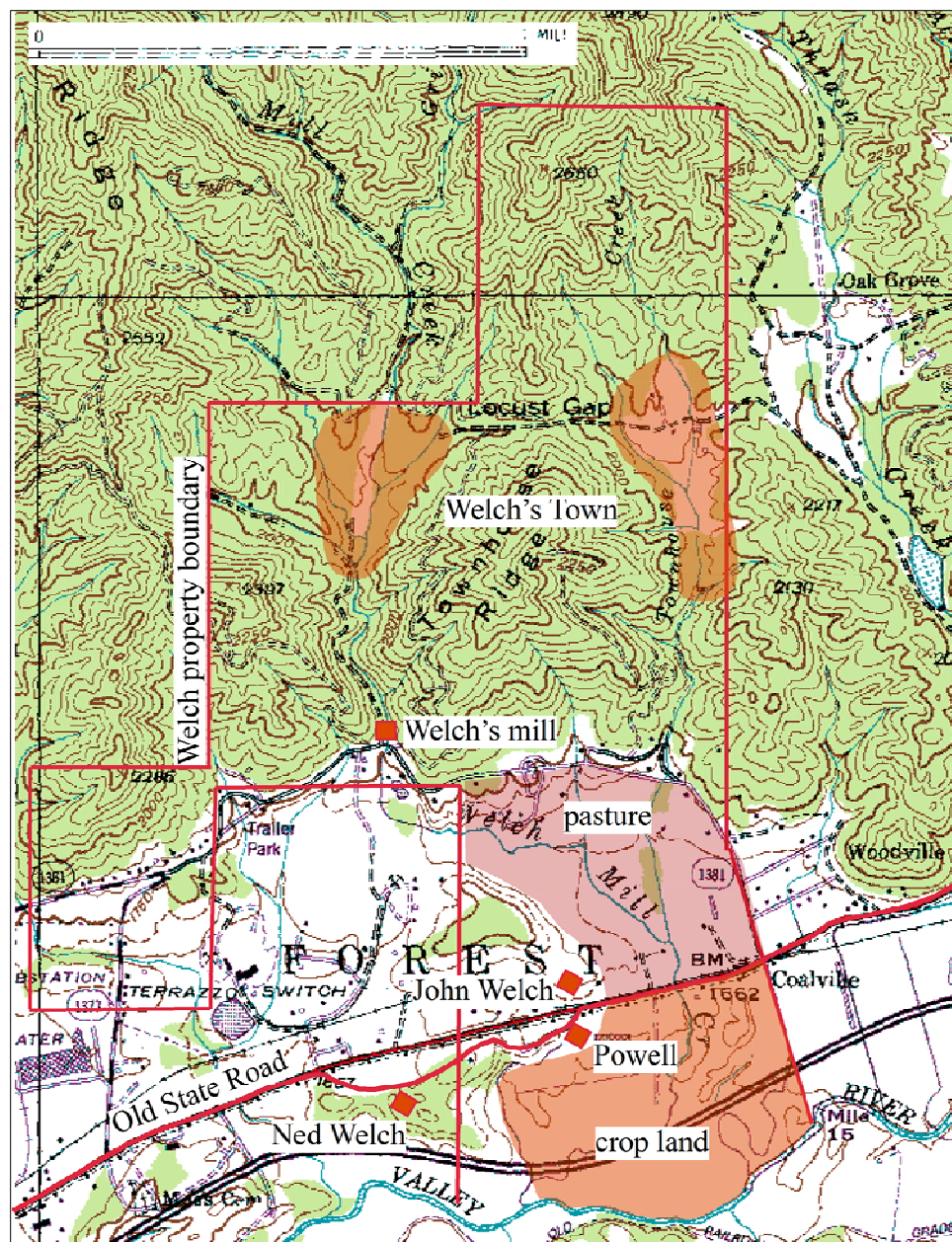


Figure 23. Welch's Town and Welch plantation, 1839.

white tenants. I focus on the relationship between the Cherokee community and the Welches. A broad body of literature on clientelism reveals a wide range of social and economic relationships within this phenomenon. It is this relationship, between the Welches and the Cherokee community, I attempt to define in social, political, and economic terms. Why would the Welches risk their lives and livelihoods to help the refugee Cherokees during removal, and give them a place to live afterwards, if there was not any potential economic gain? If the Cherokees were being exploited, why did they not choose to emigrate to the West?

I first review the patron-client relationships of William Holland Thomas and the Cherokees of Qualla Town and of Jesse Siler and the Cherokees of Sandtown. These two examples illustrate the different forms that clientelism took, even in a small area as western North Carolina and within the same ethnic group; they also provide a background for the formation of Welch's Town. I then investigate Welch's Town in detail.

Qualla Town and Sandtown

During the post-removal era, three major Cherokee town clusters were established with the help of local white and Cherokee patrons. The largest group of settlements was known as Qualla Town, led by William Holland Thomas. Thomas, a white man, had grown up near the Cherokee towns along the Tuckaseegee River. By 1822, he operated a store in what was then known by local whites as Indiantown (Godbold and Russell 1990:12). Thomas first served as legal representative of the Qualla Town Cherokees in 1831, after the passage of the Indian removal Act and also because of an influx of whites searching for gold on Cherokee land (Godbold and Russell 1990:21-22). In 1836, Thomas traveled to Washington to ensure the Qualla Town Cherokees would not be removed, and to get the claim money owed them from the removal treaty (Godbold and Russell 1990:24-25). By the early 1830s Thomas was buying tracts of land nearby, ostensibly to establish a large Cherokee reservation for these Cherokees who had chosen to live outside the boundaries of the Cherokee Nation (Finger 1984:21). After the removal, Thomas continued to purchase land for the Qualla Town residents to live on. Most of these tracts were contiguous and located along the Tuckaseegee and Oconaluftee rivers.

There, five towns (Bird Town, Wolf Town, Pretty Woman Town, Big Cove, and Yellow Hill), each with its own government, existed on land owned by the Cherokees or by Thomas (Godbold and Russell 1990:22; Finger 1984:67-68). After the removal, the majority of Cherokees in North Carolina resided in these towns. In 1840, the population of these combined towns was roughly 700 (Finger 1984:29; Thornton 1990:88-89) while the Cherokee County settlements (including Cherokees on the Hiwassee, Valley, and Cheoah rivers) contained roughly 400 people (Finger 1984: 29; Thomas 1840a, 1840b). For the Qualla Town Cherokees, most of the land on which they lived and worked was held in Thomas's name. Thomas continued to hold title to most of the land until after the Civil War. Shortly after the war Thomas was debilitated by mental illness and spent increasingly more time in asylums in Raleigh and Morganton, North Carolina, until his death in 1893 (Finger 1984:98, 171; Godbold and Russell 1990:132-150). Thomas had amassed great debt, and a series of lawsuits ensued, resulting in an investigation by the federal government into land title for the thousands of acres held in his name. Following this investigation, title to much of the land was deeded to the Cherokees in 1874. The holdings totaled roughly 73,000 acres. The main block was named the Qualla Boundary and held in trust by the federal government (Finger 1984:120; Godbold and Russell 1990:133-139).

During Thomas's life as well as after his death, his motives for aiding the Cherokees of Qualla Town have been questioned. These motives range from an altruism based on his emotional attachment to Yonaguska and other Cherokees of the area, to a calculated action to retain a cheap and submissive labor force (e.g. Godbold and Russell 1990; Hindman 1841; King 1844; Rogers 1851; Russell 1956). Regardless of his motives, Thomas's legal representation and land purchases helped the Qualla Town Cherokees remain in the area, which had long been their goal.

A few miles south of Franklin, North Carolina, the Cherokee community of Sandtown was located along Cartoogechaye Creek and Muskrat Branch. This town was much smaller than the combined towns of the Qualla settlements. Like the Welches, William Siler, a local white entrepreneur, had provided land on which the Cherokees could resettle. As with these patrons, Siler maintained ownership of the land. The economic relationship is unclear; the Cherokees may have

worked for Siler, or he may have allowed them to continue their pre-removal lifestyle unhampered. In 1851 a census of eastern Cherokees was recorded by David Siler, William's brother. At Sand Town he recorded 17 families comprising a total population of 55 individuals (Siler 1851). That year William Siler sold 200 acres along Muskrat Branch to Chuttasottee, or Jim Woodpecker, the headman of Sand Town. Shortly after that he sold an additional 100 acres to Woodpecker's son-in-law, Yonaconnaheet, or Long Bear (Siler 2000). These tracts bounded the Nantahala Mountains to the north, providing an extensive wooded and mountainous tract on which the Cherokees could hunt and fish, as well as arable land along Muskrat Branch for agriculture. The Cherokee occupation of Sand Town continued into the twentieth century, during which most local whites accepted the community (Siler 2000).

Welch's Town Narrative, 1840-1852

December 1839 marked one year since the soldiers had marched out of western North Carolina. The Cherokees who remained in the Valley, Hiwassee, and Cheoah river valleys had spent the year recovering from hiding and the loss of family members to death and removal, finding sustenance, and attempting to understand their status and standing within the new lands of the United States. Forced removal was still a possibility, and reactions to a continued Cherokee presence by local whites were varied. However, these Cherokees also found ways to strengthen their position. Most of the Cherokees had gathered on Welch land. The land, property, and legal control of the farm had been placed in the hands of Betty Welch, a white woman. Further support was given by John Powell, Welch's son-in-law and an officer in the Tennessee militia. It had taken a full year to organize the legal, social, and economic aspects of the farm. The final legal step was the transfer of deed from John Powell to Betty Welch in November 1839. By that time, the organization of the farm was largely in place and "Welch's Town" was a functioning entity.

During the 15 years after removal, Welch's Town was largely synonymous with what many people referred to as the "Valley River Cherokees." There were a few scattered households, such as Nancy Hawkins and Greybeard on Vengeance Creek, who did not live on Welch land. The vast majority of Cherokees on Valley River, however, inhabited Welch's Town. In March 1839, William

Holland Thomas listed 17 families as "Valley River Cherokees." A year later, he clarified the phrase and recorded 27 families, totaling 85 people, "Living at John Welches," showing the town continued to grow through 1839. (Table 1; Thomas 1840a, 1840b). Although these people came from four different communities, they all knew each other and many were closely related through kin and marriage ties. In August 1843, John Owl and Wa haw neet were made representatives "by the Cherokees living on Valley River commonally called the Welch Indians" in appointing power of attorney for the group (Owl and Wa haw neet 1843).

The quick reestablishment of a traditional Cherokee community at Welch's Town is illustrated through the concerned correspondence of Andrew Barnard, a white farmer who lived just east of the Welch farm on Valley River. In a letter to North Carolina Governor Edward Dudley in 1840 Barnard described the community being formed on Valley River. In doing so he provides one of the best descriptions of Welch's Town. He fumed that the Cherokees were:

forming Settlements, building town houses, and Show every disposition to keep up their former manners and customs of councils, dances, ballplays, and other practices, which is disgusting to civilized Society and calculated to corrupt our youth, and produce distress and confusion among all good thinking people [Barnard 1840].

By 1840, the members of the Cherokee community on Valley River (and in other communities as well) were building houses and a townhouse, a ball field and dance ground. They probably also reestablished formal town-level social structures to deal with community affairs. Although little is known about these social structures during the period, some aspects are revealed for Wolf Town, one of the Qualla communities, in the 1850s (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966). The Wolf Town chronicles are a body of documents collected in the late 1880s by anthropologist James Mooney. Most of the documents, written in Cherokee syllabary, pertain to the functioning of the Wolf Town council. The letters reveal a formal community-level government structure, although they do not provide much detail on the actual posts or how people were selected (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:10). The letters also reveal an associated structure called the gadugi. The gadugi was a work force organized to perform community tasks such as harvesting or road maintenance. Either the council or gadugi (or

perhaps both) also maintained a fund from which people could acquire loans, under strict conditions of repayment (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:12-15). While the Wolf Town papers do not reveal the relationship between the council and the gadugi, they do show that, as with the council, the gadugi maintained a formal structure with officers and rules of conduct. While neither a council nor gadugi have been documented for Welch's Town, it is likely that these structures, which served as foundations for community-wide social practice, were immediately established.

While the members of Welch's Town resided in the more isolated, mountainous parts of the area, the Welch family began expanding their plantation holdings in an effort to maintain a strong political and economic position. Even in the Upland South, plantation owners enjoyed an elite status. However, for the Welches, this status was greatly affected by race. Although they maintained wealth and holdings beyond the reach of most of the population, they had learned firsthand in 1819 and again in 1838 that class did not necessarily outrank race in the antebellum South.

The "Second Removal"

Prior to and during the removal, the Welch house served as a central meeting place and was the setting for the attempted "second removal" of the Cherokees between 1841 and 1844 (Finger 1981). Not all local whites agreed with Barnard; many seemed unconcerned with a continued Cherokee presence in North Carolina (Finger 1981:209). However, the federal government expressed an interest in initiating a "voluntary removal" of the North Carolina Cherokees, partly to organize all Cherokees into one entity in an effort to simplify the incredibly complicated issue of payments due Cherokees from the removal treaty and previous treaties (Finger 1981:210). In the fall of 1841, Thomas Hindman, an Alabama farmer and businessman who had close family connections to Cherokee Chief John Ross in Oklahoma, discussed the idea of a second removal to Secretary of War Albert Lea and Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas Hartley Crawford. Hindman reported to them that William Holland Thomas was cheating the North Carolina Cherokees, and that he should be replaced as their spokesman. Hindman replaced Thomas as disbursing agent on September 29, 1841 (Finger 1981:212). Hindman believed he could quickly convince the Cherokees to move west. He arrived in

Murphy on December 5, 1841, and was immediately struck by the enormity of the task he had taken on: Cherokee farms were scattered throughout miles of steep mountains; most Cherokees stilled despised the idea of removal, be it "voluntary" or otherwise (Finger 1981:213-214). Hindman rode from Murphy up the Valley River and stopped at the Welch house to discuss removal with the Cherokees of Welch's Town. An excerpt from his journal is worth recounting at length:

Set out this morning (14th) from Murphy for a settlement of Indians on Valley River fourteen miles distant, to whom I had previously sent a request to meet me on the 15th at the house of *John Welch*, a half breed Cherokee, where I arrived the same evening and saw several Cherokees, to whom I made known my business—15th continued to rain very hard during the greater part of the day, whereby many were prevented from attending. Besides, a number had gone to the mountains on a hunting expedition before my invitation was received, therefore, out of about *one hundred and twenty who reside in this neighborhood*, only forty five attended, but to those, I read, and had interpreted [by John Timson] first, my instructions in relation to the business with Mr. Thomas, second, in relation to collecting their claims against the government, third, the address of the acting Secretary of War, to the Cherokees remaining East of Mississippi, and fourth, a copy of the Talk addressed by the President of the United States to John Ross, David Vann, and Capt John Benge, Cherokee delegation, and while reading all those documents they gave good attention and shewed [sic] every disposition to treat me with respect and kindness. I then endeavored to impress upon them the great advantage that would result by adhering to the advice given, and also endeavored to shew [sic] them their true situation, and what would eventually be their fate provided they neglected this friendly offer and continued to live within the states [Hindman 1841, italics added].

Hindman's account reveals several interesting aspects of life at the Welches. As it had been since at least the early 1830s, the Welch house was a hub of political and social activity for Cherokees and whites. Hindman stated there were approximately 120 Cherokees in the neighborhood, the largest portion of which resided on the 1200 acre Welch farm. Although Hindman wrote that most of the Cherokees had gone on a "hunting expedition," he also reported that Thomas told the Cherokees Hindman's purpose was to gather them for removal, and many fled into the mountains as they had done only three years before (Finger 1984:33). The interaction of Hindman and the 45 Cherokees present was mediated and translated by John Timson, one of the few people present fluent in English and Cherokee (the others were John and Betty Welch and their children). Hindman urged the Cherokees to consider his proposal:

...as but a small portion of their people were present, I considered it proper they should defer an answer untill [sic] all could be together, and consult among themselves, besides, as all the Cherokees in this quarter were equally interested, it might be advisable that a counsel should be held, with the different settlements in order to consider and deliberate calmly and seriously in regard to their friendly offer of the Government by which a correct understanding among themselves could be had—that altho [sic] I was anxious to terminate the business of my mission as soon as possible—yet

I was disposed to allow sufficient time for mature deliberation on their part—but this advice availed nothing, no time would be asked—*Chinequah* [John Owl], the speaker, stated they were then ready to reply, and preferred doing so at that time, and then proceeded to say, those of the Cherokees, who composed that settlement, had separated from their Nation, and was now opposed to removal, *neither did they consider their interest as identified with the other settlements*, therefore could see no necessity for a counsel or of appointing any one to visit a country with a view to examine it when it was their determination to remain where they were, and that they protested against any one but themselves receiving any funds from the United States which belongs to them, either private claims or per capita—and in relation to claims, yet unsettled they had sent them by John Timpson to Washington last winter, therefore their business with me was at an end, as they have said all they had to say on the subjects presented by me as special [agent] of the Govt.—I insisted that this answer could only be for those present, as the others had not heard the Talks could not know their purport, and of course he could not answer for them. His reply was that *he had been instructed to answer for all*, therefore as their determination appeared to be fixed, and that their answer had evidently been prepared in advance, I considered it useless to remain longer with them at this time [Hindman 1841, italics added].

Chinoque, or John Owl, was a community leader and served as representative for the group. His comments are particularly enlightening regarding the motives and attitudes of the Welch's Town Cherokees. At the core of his statement is the idea of community-level identity: the Welch's Town Cherokees not only felt no connection with those Cherokees west of the Mississippi River, they felt no close connection, at least politically, with Cherokees in nearby communities. This community-level identity, driven by long term settlement in a specific landscape and strengthened through long standing blood and marriage ties, bound the Cherokees of the Valley and Cheoah river valleys.

Hindman continued on horseback from the Welch farm:

Set out this evening and traveled [illegible] miles on my way to Cheohee. This settlement are principally full blood Cherokees and completely subservient to the will of *Mrs. Welch*, a white woman (wife of John Welch, Cherokee) and she under the control and influence of Mr. Thomas. Mrs. Welch has considerable shrewdness and understands how to manage ignorant Indians to suit her purpose. She has purchased some twelve or thirteen hundred acres of land from the state of North Carolina at something near the sum of \$8000, one eighth of which is only paid for, *the largest portion of the Indians are settled upon this land...* and it is [stated?] here that the funds placed in the hands of Mr. Thomas in July 1840 by the Govt. to pay to those people, [has do?] for as this settlement was interested, been all secured by Mrs. Welch *as compensation for the using her land and for corn furnished them, notwithstanding they labor for her, almost constantly and answer every purpose of slaves—she spares no pains to keep up their prejudices against the West and tells them they can always have the privilege of using her land and residing upon it*—this report I am inclined to believe is true, because, in conversation with them, *Chinequah stated they had paid for the use of the land they then resided upon—this arrangement meets the approbation of Mr. Thomas because he controls [sic] a very large number in the same way and to avoid collision with Mrs. Welch he has to surrender a portion of those deluded people for her use* [Hindman 1841, italics added].

Hindman states the Cherokees in "Cheohee" (Buffalo Town) were "completely subservient" to Betty Welch. Although this is unlikely, the statement does show that Betty and the Cherokees of

Buffalo Town interacted. Minor shifts in town rolls between Buffalo Town, Welch's Town, and Hanging Dog, support this idea: these communities were somewhat fluid and they maintained regular inter-town communication.

It is notable that there is no mention of John Welch in Hindman's journal. Three years after removal, he is still absent from the political scene, still an invalid from his imprisonment at Fort Cass by General Scott. Neither does Hindman mention John Powell, ex-military officer who lived a few hundred yards away from the Welch house. Betty is the unquestioned leader of the Welch plantation, and wields significant power over the Cherokees of Welch's Town. How she chose to use that power is a difficult question to answer. Hindman sarcastically comments that she is blatantly exploiting the labor of what he considered "ignorant Indians." Underlying Hindman's displeasure at Betty is his grudging respect for her "shrewdness," although it is difficult to intuit whether his respect is tempered with disgust at the power wielded by a woman. However, his displeasure at Betty for hindering his work and his condescending view of the Cherokee population makes his interpretations of her exploitation very suspect. Through the remainder of December and well into January, 1842, Hindman continued his journey through the mountains in an effort to recruit Cherokees for removal. His experience at Welch's Town was a taste of things to come; he spent weeks traveling on horseback through mountain passes in rain and snow, and, in the end, enlisted no Cherokees for emigration. He returned to his native Alabama in late January, 1842, his appointment as Cherokee agent ended (Finger 1981:215).

The Cherokee Boards of Commissioners

An ongoing struggle for the Cherokees of Welch's Town throughout this period was the settlement of claims against the federal government regarding the loss of real and chattel property, of travel monies due, and, in the case of reservees, the loss of land and improvements stemming from the 1817 and 1819 treaties. The federal government, between 1836 and 1852, established four separate boards of commissioners to investigate the multitude of claims (Finger 1984; Iobst 1979; King 1979). The boards, hobbled by infighting, corruption, and competing attorneys, failed to satisfy

the Cherokee's requests and the government's goal of settling the claims cheaply and quickly (Finger 1984:46). By 1850, the matter was becoming more urgent, because dispersal of funds, in the view of government officials, could only be done after equitable claims had been established for all Cherokees, east and west of the Mississippi River. Federal officials in the Office of Indian Affairs and in the War Department were under pressure to settle claims submitted by all Cherokees, including spoliation, preemption, and per capita claims, as stipulated in the 1835 treaty. The matter was extremely complicated; East and West Cherokees were divided into different political factions, each convinced the settlements suggested by the government were inequitable (Iobst 1979).

Commissioners of the various boards convened in Murphy, North Carolina, among other locations. The goal of the commissioners was as much about coercing the remaining Cherokees to emigrate as paying their claims (Finger 1984:35-37). The commissioners often set unreasonable standards of evidence required to have a claim accepted. In the case of lost land, improvements, or goods, most Cherokees provided testimony of friends and family members, in writing, regarding the value of losses. The board generally found such testimony as insufficient proof, but offered no alternative for the claimants. In other words, a sufficient form of proof did not exist for the vast majority of claims.

While the boards brought in many Cherokees seeking money for their losses, it also drew numerous lawyers and thieves, sometimes one and the same, prepared to swindle the Cherokees out of their claim money (Godbold and Russell 1990:57). In a letter to William Holland Thomas, his associate Felix Axley claimed "some men have got a little taste of Cherokee money and it has created such a [illegible] appetite that nothing will satisfy them but all or at least the control of it" (Axley 1851). Cherokee representatives, by acquiring power of attorney, stood to collect fees in the range of five to fifteen percent, a substantial income if a person could get the signatures (or marks) of some of the hundreds of Cherokees who filed claims. During the 1840s, people who claimed power of attorney for various groups of Cherokees (often whole towns would sign at once), included William Holland Thomas, Felix Axley, Preston Starrett, Johnson K. Rogers, and Duff and Benjamin Green

(Finger 1984:46). These and other men, some trained in law and some not, competed with each other, and sometimes worked together, to entice, beg, threaten, and plead Cherokees to sign over power of attorney in the matter of claims. For years this was a thriving business in Cherokee County. In 1844, J.W. King, another associate of Thomas, wrote a pleading and fearful letter to him in Washington. In it he reveals his desperate financial straits, the potential income from Cherokee claims, and some of the tactics he is willing to use:

If we do not succeed in Realizing some means from the Cherokee business I tell you I don't know what we are to do... I want you to inform me about Henry Smiths preemption claim whether or not in your Judgment it will do to depend on or not as I have already got him in debt to our House some 4 or 500\$--and have opportunities that would suit our Interest to get more debts on him provided that the debt is safe, and it would not be too long before we could get the money [King 1844].

Henry Smith was a Cherokee who lived on nearby Peachtree Creek; he served as an interpreter for the army and later for William Holland Thomas and others. In the same letter King also discusses an incident regarding Betty Welch and the Kilchuler family who resided in Welch's Town:

I succeeded for last court in getting appointed guardian for the Indian boy you mentioned in a former letter and now enclose you the power of attorney to act for me, in regards the dissatisfaction of Thompson Kilchuler and wife. I purchased their claim fairly and honorably. Henry Smith was present and interpreted they understood correctly the whole matter and was perfectly satisfied until that Demon in Human shape called Mrs Welch thought proper to interfere, and the Gnat John Timpson after a long time persuading them got them to agree to write the 2nd Auditor. So I was informed I think I shall be able to fix all things wright [sic] with Thompson and his wife. It seems as if Mrs Welch & John Timpson make it their whole study to try to throw difficulties and frustrate our designs in Business and you should bear it in mind that either of them would do all they could to Injure us. I therefore would say to you as my friend to pay no more attention to their business whatever for I assure you they don't thank you for it. And I cannot help saying I would be Gratified if they never was to get one cent of their claims [King 1844].

As with Hindman, King seems to take particular offense at being bested by a woman. Certainly at the time, and perhaps especially in the South, women did not commonly function in positions of political or economic power outside the household. This is even truer for married women, legally bound as their husband's property (Skinner 1996). Hindman and King would have been aggravated by such hindrances instigated by anyone. However, it is probable that the mordant tone in their letters stems from the treatment by a woman, and perhaps even more so by a white woman who gained economic power due to her marriage to a non-white man. It is clear that Betty Welch served in some capacity as legal advisor or protector for at least some of the Welch's Town Cherokees, and it seems,

from this letter, that she was attempting to serve the best interests of the Cherokee community residing on her property. She advised Thompson Kilchuler to contact the board of commissioners; she did not ask him to transfer power of attorney to her. It is also clear that Betty was serving as the representative or spokesperson for the Welch plantation and for many affairs regarding Welch's Town. Absent from King's correspondence are John Welch, Ned Welch, and John Powell. Betty, with the assistance of John Timpson, directed affairs regarding the claims of many of the Welch's Town Cherokees and their dealings with the boards of commissioners and with attorneys who were offering their services to the Cherokees. This was in addition to attempting to settle her own family's claims against the government, which dated back to 1819. The voluminous Welch claims include preemptions, spoliation, and improvements, and encompass seven separate filings to the various boards of commissioners in Murphy. These documents were probably written for Betty (who could not write) by John Powell or Ned Welch, and provide a remarkable amount of information regarding the Welch chattel and real property, their treatment by the army, and their affairs after the removal. Similar documents also describe the properties and holdings of all the families of Welch's Town, prior to their displacement in 1838.

The failure to settle the claims of Cherokees east and west caused the Congress to pass the Treaty of 1846, an attempt to settle all claims equitably (Finger 1984:46). Before this could be accomplished, a census had to be recorded for the Cherokees in the East, to determine how many Cherokees were due funds. Two rolls were taken of the Cherokees east of the Mississippi. The first was by John Mullay. He completed his first trip to the mountains of North Carolina in 1849. There he met with stubborn resistance from the Valley River Cherokees. John Owl, the Welch's Town spokesman, told him of their fear it was related to a second removal, and their refusal to be recorded. Mullay, realizing the roll was incomplete and still on the Indian Office payroll, returned to the mountains in 1850, where the hesitant Welch's Town Cherokees, realizing that they might actually be reimbursed, agreed to be included in the roll (Finger 1984:48-49). The second roll was recorded by David Siler in the summer of 1851. Siler lived in the town of Franklin, a sibling of William Siler,

patron of Sand Town. Siler visited all of the Cherokee settlements in North Carolina, and had little difficulty in recording the census data (Finger 1984:52).

The Death of John Welch

By the early 1850s, the social environment for the Cherokees in North Carolina had changed dramatically. Although their citizenship status remained undefined, their continued residence in North Carolina was largely unquestioned, if not yet legally sanctioned by the state. A few Cherokees had begun to purchase their own land. The first was Wachacha, who purchased two tracts from Gideon Morris in the Cheoah River Valley in October 1845 (Wachacha 1845). In 1847, Wachacha's brother, Junaluska, purchased a tract in the same area (Junaluska 1847). However, the purchase of land in the area by Cherokees did not begin in earnest until the early 1850s. In 1852, Nancy Hawkins, Joe Locust, and Sapsucker purchased land (Hawkins 1852; Locust 1852; Sapsucker 1852). In 1853, John Axe bought a 50 acre tract on the Hanging Dog Creek (Axe 1853). Land ownership, if only by a small number of Cherokees at first, signaled a new era for those residing along the Valley and Cheoah river drainages. They felt more secure and the need to be settled in compact communities was subsiding.

In the midst of these changes, an event occurred that hastened the demise of Welch's Town. On July 9, 1852 John Welch died (Elizabeth Welch 1855). The cause of death is unknown. However, it is almost certain that his death occurred from complications associated with his illness induced during his imprisonment at Fort Cass in the fall of 1838. The death of Welch would have elicited an emotional response from the Cherokees of Welch's Town. His support of their community had been visible for all to see; his blindness and "wasted flesh" was the direct result of his resistance to forced emigration for the Cherokees in the surrounding communities. It is odd that his death is almost absent in the documentary record. The only mention of the event occurs as a marginal notation in a per capita claim by Elizabeth Welch and several of her children: "John Welch the husband of Elizabeth died the 9th day of July 1852" (Elizabeth Welch 1855). His death is not otherwise recorded in the voluminous collection of personal correspondence, claims, or legal documents associated with the people of Valley River. This absence may indicate his isolation within the boundaries of the Welch

plantation since the removal. Even before his death he was absent in the post-removal documents. Betty repeatedly appears as the sole owner and spokesperson of the plantation. Although John Welch may have gone largely unseen by the white inhabitants of Cherokee County and by various federal agents, he almost certainly stayed in close contact with the Cherokees in the area. As with Dickageeska and others, John Welch may have carried an unremitting bitterness for the treatment he, his family, and community suffered at the hands of the military (Dickageeska 1843).

The demise of Welch's Town is hinted at in the documentary record. The population began to decline in the late 1840s or early 1850s, and the death of John Welch probably hastened the relocation of many families to the Cheoah Valley and to the Qualla Towns. John Owl moved his family to the Qualla Town settlements in 1855 or 1856. The loss of this community headman may have represented the end of the Cherokee enclave along Valley River. This relocation may have been a planned, community-wide decision. The Welch's son, John, and Gideon Morris, by 1851, had purchased several tracts of land in the Cheoah Valley. These purchases and the decline of Welch's Town were probably spurred by the expanding white population along Valley River, which contains some of the largest and most fertile tracts in the county.

Farm economy in the Mountain South

By the time of the Cherokee removal, the upland South was enmeshed in a quickly expanding capitalist environment. As opposed to the popular myth of nineteenth century Southern Appalachia as a precapitalist, egalitarian society, historians have shown that the region was, by 1840, characterized by the control of land, wealth, and power by a few, of intergenerational poverty, and of a growing expanse between rich and poor (Dunaway 1996, 2003; Inscoc 1996; Lewis 2000). As class distinctions hardened in western North Carolina, the wealthy farmers and merchants, many of whom owned slaves, became increasingly separated, physically and ideologically, from the landless poor majority (Dunaway 2003:37-38). Dunaway (1996, 2003) found the class distinctions so great that the population of the Southern Appalachians could be divided into those who embraced capitalist expansion in the region and those who despised it. Lewis (2000), alternatively, discusses a continuum

of whites in the southern Appalachians, ranging from those who desired to maintain an isolationist, subsistence-oriented economy to those who embraced an open, market-oriented economy. He suggests that much of the drive for a subsistence-oriented economy came from those small to middling farmers who desired to be left alone by big government, who rejected taxation, infrastructural improvements, and big business (Lewis 2000). However, he found that throughout the mid nineteenth century there was an increase in the number of people who worked for and desired improved roads, railroads and better access to markets they entailed (Lewis 2000).

In 1850, Cherokee County, North Carolina was, in many ways, similar to many other rural Southern Appalachian counties. The portion of the population designated as white numbered 2939 (United States Bureau of the Census 1850a) and included landless tenants and farm laborers, numerous small to middling landowning farmers, a small group of slave-owning farmers, and a small group of professionals, many of whom were slave owners and part-time farmers. The African American population in Cherokee County in 1850 was 446, consisting of 337 slaves and 109 free blacks (Inscoc 1996:60; United States Bureau of the Census 1850a, 1850b). What was different about Cherokee County was the Indian population: 553 Cherokees, enumerated in the 1852 Chapman roll, lived in Welch's Town, Buffalo Town, and a few other, smaller enclaves around the county (Chapman 1851).

Agricultural operations on the scale of the Welch farm have been discussed as upland plantations (McKelway 1994; Olmstead 1860; Riggs 1999). Plantation literature has expanded dramatically in the past two decades and discussion within the genre continues to include issues such as regional variations in the "peculiar institution," social and psychological effects on all of the inhabitants of the South, and the economic ramifications of plantation society (e.g. Dunaway 2003; Eltis et al. 2004; Inscoc 2001; Mintz and Stauffer 2007). One research avenue is the racial hierarchy and racialization inherent within these institutions (Gates 1997; Samson 2005; Smedley 1999). This is particularly interesting on the Welch farm, as the plantation owners were an intermarried Cherokee/white couple. How were race and class interpreted in this uncommon instance?

The defining characteristics of a plantation have been difficult to determine, due mainly to the vast differences in climate and terrain within the slaveholding southern states. In the low country coastal areas, plantations were characterized by large landholding, distinct divisions between owners and laborers, a relatively large labor force, specialized agricultural production, and a distinctive community structure driven by a centralized authority (Dunaway 2003:8-9). Plantations in the upland South, however, do not conform to all of these traits. The upland South (or Upper South, Mountain South) has generally been defined as the Piedmont, Ridge and Valley, and Blue Ridge sections of Tennessee, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky (Andrews and Young 1992; Dunaway 2003; McKelway 1994:26-32). Dunaway reveals that the argument is not as clear cut as many think: while the low country South had many more large plantations, slaveowners in the upper South controlled a higher percentage of land and wealth (2003:6-7). The upland South differed in "largeness of scale" (Dunaway 2003:7) and in diversity of tasks for slaves (Dunaway 2003). These areas are in contrast to the lowcountry, or coastal plain, sections of these states as well as Louisiana and Mississippi (Andrews and Young 1992; Dunaway 2003; McKelway 1994:26-32).

Dunaway (2003) explains in detail the economic, social, and ethnic composition of plantations in the upland South. In broadest terms, upland plantations were defined by slaveholding and the acquisition of surplus wealth by the slaveholder. Additionally, Dunaway makes strict economic and social distinctions between slaveholders and landowners who owned no slaves. First, slaveholders needed a large amount of capital to purchase slaves, meaning they were members of the social and economic elite. However, this status was not acknowledged by people in the region who rejected the racist ideology of African American slavery, as exemplified by the number of individuals who fled to the North at the outbreak of the Civil War (Dunaway 2003:9). Although larger plantations existed in the upland South (e.g. Monticello) the region was generally composed of a relatively large percentage of what Dunaway calls small plantations, defined as ones in which there were 19 or fewer slaves (Dunaway 2003:9). Within this setting, tasks on the plantation were diverse and seasonal, in contrast

to the monocrop agriculture of the low country (Dunaway 2003). Proportions of small plantations varied from state to state in the upper South. In 1860, 25 percent of farm owners in western North Carolina owned slaves (Dunaway 2003:27).

As opposed to Dunaway's classification of plantations, Lewis (2000) discusses the population of Southern Appalachia in terms of level of involvement in the market place, presented as a continuum from those who embraced the market economy and attempted to reap substantial profits (entrepreneurs) to those who barely participated in it at all (subsistence farmers). Lewis denies the presence of numerous farmers who despised the market on principle:

Antebellum farm families did not pursue self-sufficient subsistence. There were few philosophical reasons to totally reject the market economy; and it would have been extremely difficult for a family to pursue such a strategy in any case. The most significant and important conflict in the political economy of antebellum Appalachia existed between those who saw economic opportunities in the growth of markets and those who valued security and freedom from external economic forces [Lewis 2000:282-283].

The Welches are an interesting alternative to this reasoning: they certainly did not reject the market economy on principle, but firmly embraced wealth acquisition. However, they also "valued security and freedom from external economic forces" and, ironically, may have participated in the market economy for this motive. While the Welches chose to build a plantation, the Cherokees around them selected the opposite end of the spectrum, reestablishing their subsistence-level family farms and local community. Oddly enough, this combination of land, wealth, and labor enabled all the members of the Welch family and Welch's Town to achieve their economic goals.

While the inequitable relationship between master and slave resembled that of the lowcountry, the climate and terrain of most upland plantations did not allow for specialized crop production. Therefore, slaveholders in the upland South exploited slave labor in many other activities, such as blacksmithing, grist and saw milling, carpentry, ironworking, tanning, and gold mining. Slaves worked as servants in the many hotels, warm springs and spas in western North Carolina, and the construction of many public buildings, including courthouses, was performed by slaves rented to the city or county by slaveholders (Dunaway 2003; Inscoe 1996; Trotter 1988:28-29).

The Welch Plantation Economy

The Welch family enjoyed income from two different sources: their plantation and Welch's Town. This section explains how this complex operation functioned, the workforce and their seasonal activities. The 1850 agricultural schedules, 1850 slave census, and store ledgers tell one part of the story, but only in conjunction with the archaeological data can the full picture be painted. The abundance and diversity of floral and faunal remains in the archaeological assemblage is particularly revealing. These remains show the Welches had access to a diverse collection of domestic and wild food sources which reflect both traditional Cherokee and westernized tastes. The combined data show that Betty Welch did benefit from the labor of the Welch's Town Cherokees, but did not exploit them as agricultural workers. The labor provided to the Welches by the Welch's Town Cherokees allowed the latter to maintain their traditional subsistence and community practices.

The Welch plantation incorporated the households of John and Betty Welch, Ned and Emily Welch, and Mary and John Powell (Table 5), as well as the eight or nine African American slaves who toiled on the farm. Contemporary documents show that these three families lived on adjoining farms from at least 1836 through 1860 (Blake 1860; Western Turnpike 1850; Welch and Jarrett 1837). When discussing farm production, I combine the labor of the members of all of these families into a single unit.

I discuss the community of Welch's Town, located on Welch land, roughly a mile away from the farm complex, as a separate entity from the Welch plantation (Table 6). While the Cherokees of Welch's Town provided labor for the Welches, they did not provide sustained labor for agricultural purposes, such as planting or harvesting. Instead, the Cherokees performed activities in the mountains, around their own community. While this ultimately provided income for the Welches, it was not a constant or sustained part of the plantation labor, which was situated on and around the Welch house and farm complex, on the Valley River valley floor on tract 71. The geographic and ecological separation of these two communities, Welch's Town and the Welch plantation, are proper metaphors for their separate social and political economies. One is prominently situated on a

Table 5. Members of Welch family on plantation, 1850.

Name	relation	age
John	husband	59
Elizabeth (Betty)	wife	49
Jonathan	son	24
John Cobb	son	22
Richard	son	18
Martha Ann	daughter	16
Rebecca	daughter	15
Lloyd	son	13
Stacey	daughter	11
Ned Welch	husband	32
Emily (Vannoy)	wife	32
Laura	daughter	11
Eleanor	daughter	8
John	son	6
Adelaide	daughter	4
Alfred	son	2
John Powell	husband	41
Mary (Welch)	wife	30
Cornelia	daughter	11
Marcus	son	9
Robert	son	7
Francis	son	5
Mary	daughter	3
John	son	1

Table 6. Members of Welch's Town, 1850.

Name	relation	age	residence in 1835
Chinoque or John Owl	husband	55	Hanging Dog Creek
Liddy	wife	38	Hanging Dog Creek
Winnih	wife's		
	sister	26	Hanging Dog Creek
David	son	10	_____
The Axe	husband	65	Hanging Dog Creek
A qualla	wife	65	Hanging Dog Creek
E ta ga ha	son	35	Hanging Dog Creek
Sal ka na	daughter	30	Hanging Dog Creek
I hu hy	son	24	Hanging Dog Creek
Nelly	daughter	20	Hanging Dog Creek
George Axe	husband	30	Hanging Dog Creek
Anice	wife	28	Hanging Dog Creek
Willson	son	11	Hanging Dog Creek
Ail cih	daughter	9	_____
Sah lin nih	daughter	7	_____
Oo yoes ka huh te Keis ka	son	3	_____
Ka lows kih or Locust	husband	47	Beaverdam
Ah ne wa kih	wife	35	Beaverdam
Ske kit tih	son	12	_____
Tah ne yun tih	son	1	_____
Te nul la huh or Jim Jackson	husband	33	Valley River
Ollih	wife	24	Valley River
Jo wih	son	9	_____
Cul le lo or Cornelia	daughter	8	_____
Eliza	daughter	3	_____
Matilda	mother	70	Valley River
Oo ga tut lih or Feather	husband	55	Hanging Dog?
Nancy	wife	50	Hanging Dog?
Jo wun nuh	son	24	Hanging Dog?
Que tut ti nih	son	23	unknown
Cun noo wee lih or Cynthia	mother	60	unknown

continued

Table 6. Members of Welch's Town, 1850 (continued).

Name	relation	age	residence in 1835
Too nah na luh	husband	32	Vengeance Creek
Suh ti ih	wife	34	Vengeance Creek
See lih	ward	5	_____
Tee sut ta skih	husband	27	unknown
Ih yoh stuh	wife	25	unknown
Stee wih	son	4	_____
O kun sto tih	son	2	_____
Wah yuh ah til lih (Trotting Wolf)	husband	45	unknown
Nicy	wife	26	unknown
Lizzy	daughter	9	_____
Wo she	son	7	_____
Jo wuh	son	5	_____
Wally Wat che ser	(female)	65	Beaverdam
Ke nut ti he	ward	5	_____
Chu na whin ka or Rattler	husband	55	Hanging Dog Creek
Nah yuh hoo la	wife	30	Hanging Dog Creek
Nah ya hih	daughter	3	_____
Lucy	daughter	1	_____
Sally	daughter	16	Hanging Dog Creek
Takih	daughter	14	_____
A lee na	daughter	12	_____
Yel kin nih	daughter	10	_____
Joncinnih or Johnson	husband	50	unknown
Jin-nih	wife	30	unknown
Yo-noo-kil-lah	son	4	_____
John Davis	son	2	_____
		57	

conspicuous elevated knoll overlooking a broad, fertile floodplain and the Western Turnpike. The other is hidden in the steep, wooded Snowbird Mountains. Only one mile apart, the leaders and inhabitants of these two communities chose opposing adaptations to a post-removal environment.

The layout and operation of the Welch plantation during the 1840s and early 1850s is central to this study. Here I use primary documents and archaeological data to establish daily and seasonal operations on the plantation and establish the routine of diverse activities and who performed them. Another Cherokee patron, William Holland Thomas, has been accused by many authors of extorting cheap labor from Cherokees in the Qualla Town area, while others have seen him in a more altruistic light, as the "white chief of the Cherokees" (Godbold and Russell 1990; Russell 1956). Investigating the history and archaeology of Welch's Town provides insight into not only the Welch case, but for patrons such as Thomas, Jesse Siler, and, perhaps, further a field as well.

Ultimately, this study is also an attempt to reconstruct the daily lives of the Welch family and to discern their achievements. Discussion is organized by farm task. The immense variety of tasks performed on mountain plantations is striking, and was organized to maximize productivity of the entire labor pool. Farm tasks were divided by race, ethnicity, gender, experience and training, and age. Individuals performed a variety of activities depending on the season. Plantation economies were inextricably tied to local, regional, and national markets (Dunaway 2003; Incoe 1996).

I begin with a discussion of the property evaluations recorded by Welch Jarrett between November 1836 and February 1837. Although the information recorded by Welch and Jarrett represents the Welch farm a year before removal, there is sufficient evidence to suggest the operation of the farm after removal was quite similar, in terms of land use and livestock and crop production. Therefore, these documentary records are very useful in examining how the Welches lived during the 1840s.

The Welch plantation complex

The property evaluations recorded in 1837 reveal the Welch holdings were quite extensive (Welch and Jarrett 1837):

John Welch Living on the north side of Vally River above Hawkins Improvement	
1 Large Hewed log Building 16-40 1 1/2 story high lower floor laid with Plank- upper floor in one room laid with loose plank-1 stick and clay chimney stone back and jams 2 plank shutters hung with iron hinges one half of the House covered with shingles, the other half with boards nailed on	191.00
1 hewed log Kitchen 14-14 Puncheon floor Stick and Clay Chimney Stone Back shed in front Board Roof	30.00
1 cabin 12-12 Puncheon floor Stick and Clay Chimney Stone Back Board Roof	15.00
1 Hewed log smoke House 12-12 B[oard] Roof	18.00
1 Small lumber House 11-11 B[oard] Roof	11.00
1 Stable 12-12 Trough and Rack B[oard] Roof nailed on	15.00
1 Corn Crib 7-20 Round logs board R[oof]	15.00
1 Horse lot containing 450 Rails a \$2 [2 cents]	9.00
1 Hewed log cabin above the spring 12-12	15.00
1 Spring House covered with boards	3.00
1 Shop House 12-12 B[oard] Roof	4.00
90 Acres in cultivation at the Home place at 10-	900.00
11½ Acres in the Bottom above the House now called neds place a 10	115.00
1 House near the large [illegible] where Wm Crawford lives	20.00
The lot around the House	5.00
1 Cabin where Shedrick Baley lived 16-16 Puncheon floor Stick and Clay Chimney Stone Back Board Roof	16.00
Lot around the House	7.00
116 small Peach trees a 25	26.50
52 large Peach trees a 75	39.00
4 large Apple Trees a \$6 1 small a 1.50	25.50
1 Cabin at the upper end of the field occupied by Jonathon Parker 14-14 Puncheon floor board Roof stick and clay chimney	15.00
1 Stable at the same place	1.00
1 old grist mill nearly Rotten down	50.00
1 other Cabin occupied by Jonathon [sic] Blyth near where Parker lives 14-14 Puncheon floor wood chimney stone back Board Roof	20.00
one other cabin at the same [illegible] 14-14 Puncheon floor Stick and Clay Chimney Stone Back and Jams Board Roof	25.00
1 Stable and crib joined together	7.00
1 Lot inclosed in cultivation around the House	14.00
1 Improvement in Rock Creek below [illegible] and adjoining James Blythes- now rented to Jesse Smith 1 Cabin in the field 12-14 Puncheon floor wood Chimney Board Roof	18.00
1 Cabin on oposite [sic] side of the creek 14-16 Plank floor Stick and Clay Chimney Stone Back and Jams	15.00
One stable 12-12-Trough and Rack B[oard] Roof	8.00
20 Acres in cultivation a 9	180.00
25 Peach trees a 50	12.50
One Improvement on the North side Vally River on a branch above Charley Jones occupied by Leonard Painter 2 old cabins a \$8 each	16.00
3 Acres upland in cultivation a \$7	21.00
31 Peach trees a 50	15.50
One Improvement called the Yeociss place on the south side of Vally River above Chelataske and James Whitaker 1 House 16-16 hewed logs Puncheon floor wood Chimney Stone Back and Jams Board Roof	25.00
1 Cabin 8-18-hewed logs, Puncheon floor Board Roof	10.00
1 other 12-13 wood Chimney B[oard] Roof	13.00
1 small Stable 11-11	6.00

1 Corn Crib 7-11	4.00
40 Acres inclosed 16 in cultivation a 10	160.00
1 small smoke House	12.00
Extra fencing 24 Acres	48.00
1 large Apple tree\$2 2 small do 50	3.00
36 Peach trees a 37 1/2	13.50
	2205.00
Add for Houses	305.50
Add for fruit trees	84.00

As recorded by Welch and Jarrett, the total real property wealth for the Welch family was \$2594.50, at a time when property wealth for many Cherokee families in the region was below \$100 (Welch and Jarrett 1837). The Welch's 16 x 40 ft one and a half story log house encompassed 960 ft², when the average house size for Cherokees in the region was 189 ft² (Riggs 1999:110). The vast majority of Cherokee cabins in the Welch and Jarrett evaluations were valued at less than \$26, while the Welch's was valued at \$191 (Riggs 1999:114). This is due not only to the size of the structure, but of the structural additions such as a shingle (not board) roof, plank floors (not puncheon or dirt), stonework on the chimney, and shuttered windows. This substantial log house was situated on an elevated knoll rising above the floor of the Valley River Valley, where the fertile valley floor was at its widest point. The knoll itself is a remnant ridge, an elevated island left isolated in the broad floor of the valley providing an extensive viewshed in all directions, particularly northeastward up the valley, towards Valley Towns, and southwestward, down the valley towards Murphy. This large, level area is high enough to avoid flooding and provides easy access to surrounding crop land and pasture. The kitchen and the later house were constructed so that the front entrances faced southwestward, downriver. By 1832 the Welches had constructed a private road to the southwest, downriver, to join the Unicoi Turnpike that had been built in 1816 (Riggs 1999:58). The orientation of both structures was selected to face the route of crop and livestock export. In the opposite direction, to the northeast, lay the traditional Cherokee communities of the Valley Towns. Orientation of the houses may represent the Welches embrace of agricultural capitalism. However, house construction at this time often involved orienting the entrance to the south, in order to receive as

much sunlight as possible during the winter months. This "southern exposure" was a common practice in the region in the nineteenth century.

Although the Welches did not embrace all aspects of plantation ownership, such as an ostentatious display of wealth, they did uphold the trait of presenting a prominent front to their holdings. The main house, as described, was situated on a prominent rise and faced southward. People riding north on the road constructed by the Welches would have viewed an impressive structure for the period, elevated on an equally impressive rise above the floor of the Valley River valley. The other structures and activity areas were situated behind the main house and house lot, on the northern side of the large level area.

Figure 23 shows the layout of the Welch plantation during the 1840s. The plantation complex expanded from 1822 through 1850s. In 1822 or 1823, the Welches settled on Valley River, after being coerced into selling their reservation land on Iotla Creek near the old Cherokee towns of Cowee and Watauga (Jurgelski 2004:222-223; Riggs 1988:97). Based on archaeological evidence, it is likely that they initially constructed a log house, 14 x 14 ft., with a stick and clay chimney with a stone foundation and a puncheon floor. At some point in the late 1820s or early 1830s, with a growing family and expanding income, the Welches constructed a larger house. This new log structure, 20 x 16 ft, was one and a half stories high, had a plank floor, glass windows with wooden shutters, a split shingle roof, and a stick and clay chimney with a stone foundation. The sawed planks for the flooring and the window glass were expensive architectural items at the time. The older, smaller structure would have been converted into an external kitchen. This was a common practice for the period; cooking in a separate structure reduced the likelihood of fire in the main residence. This was particularly important with structures that contained fire hazards such as wooden, clay-covered (stick and clay) chimneys. This practice also provided more space in the main residence by relocating the tools and practices of food preparation, which required a lot of space. By 1837, the Welches had added another pen onto the new house, doubling its size to 16 x 40 ft. This addition also had a plank floor, windows, and shutters. It also had a board roof, a costly technological improvement over split

wooden shingles. When Welch and Jarrett recorded their evaluation in 1837, this was what they described: a house lot that had been occupied for 14 or 15 years, with structures illustrating a common evolution of occupation. The differences in age and construction techniques were recorded by Welch and Jarrett not only in their description, but in their cost evaluation: they valued the older kitchen at \$30 and the newer, larger house at \$191.

Archaeologically, evidence of architecture is sparse in comparison to dining-related artifacts and food remains. However, the subsurface pit features provide substantial information on locations and layout of the core structures of the plantation complex (Figure 24). The large, rectangular structure was approximately 20 ft (6 m) from the old kitchen. All of the structures were oriented on a 147° — 327° axis, with the front doors oriented to the southwest, facing downriver. In addition, the location of the structures was selected to provide an unobstructed view up and down the length of Valley River.

Archaeological data further illuminate the house: numerous cut nail fragments were recovered from the three cellar pits, but included only one whole cut nail. The remainder (n=122) are shank fragments with or without the nail head. The first fully formed machine cut nails were produced around 1815; this form exhibited a slight narrowing immediately below the nail head. Around 1830 a new method produced a nail with a straight, tapering shank (Type 9 in Noel Hume 1970:253). By 1830, machine cut nails were in widespread production, the cost for these items was reduced, and nails were used more frequently and in greater numbers (Nelson 1968).

All identified nail fragments from the Welch site are defined by Noel Hume as Type 9 (Noel Hume 1970:253). Most of the nail fragments are heavily corroded and have thick rust deposits on the head and shank; many are quite brittle. A small number was burned prior to deposition and therefore are much less corroded. The corrosion, rust, and incomplete nature of the bulk of nails make identification of their original size difficult to ascertain. This, in turn, makes identifying their use difficult to interpret. Larger nails (10d and larger) were, and are, generally used for heavy frame construction, such as joining framing elements in house construction. Smaller nails (8d and smaller)

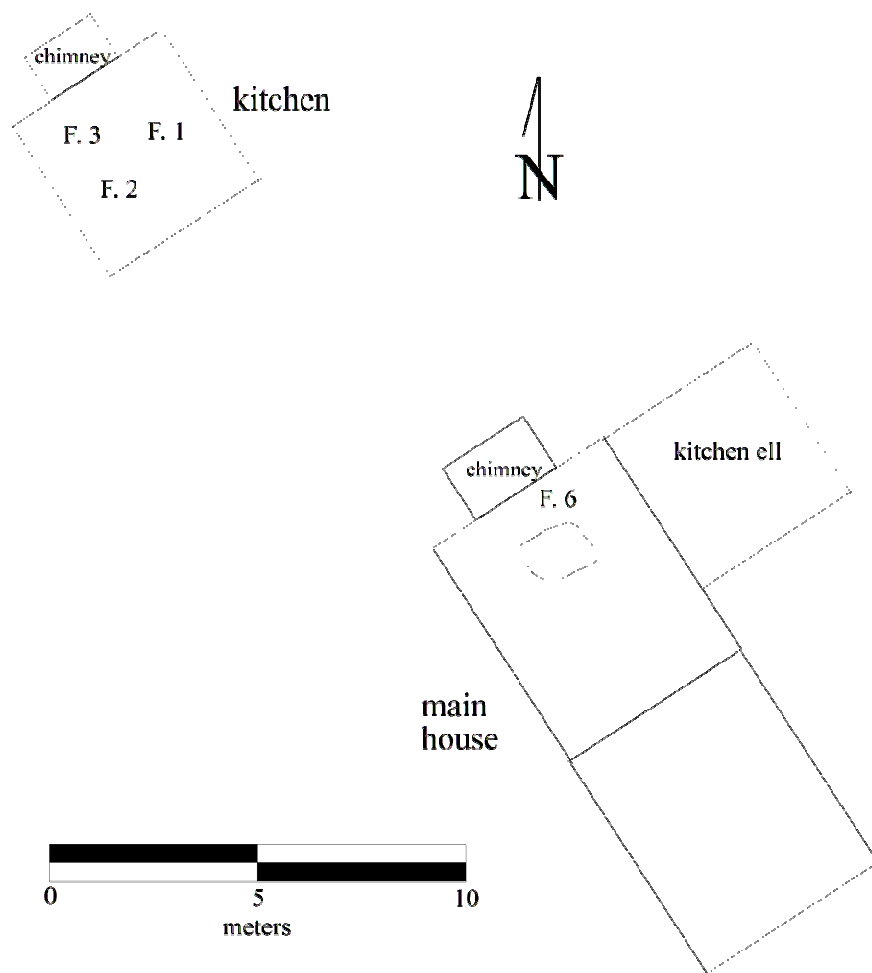


Figure 24. Excavated features and proposed structural alignments.

were used in finishing, such as attachment of boards to a roof, clapboards to exterior wall surfaces, and planks to a floor, as well as a host of other varied uses.

The 1837 Welch and Jarrett evaluation reveals the many uses the recovered nails might have served. As previously stated, it is probable that the three excavated cellar pits were subjacent to the external kitchen recorded in 1837. This kitchen had a board roof, an attached shed, a puncheon floor, and a stick and clay chimney. The first two of these architectural traits required nails for construction. The last two were probably constructed using nails as well. Therefore the nails recovered from the cellars probably ranged in size and served several uses in the kitchen construction.

The number of nail fragments recovered is relatively low in comparison to many contemporary sites. At the nearby McCombs slave cabins, Shumate et al. (2000) recovered almost 1,200 nails. In eastern Tennessee, McKelway (1994) recovered nearly 1,000 nails from two mid nineteenth century slave cabins. The small number of nails is therefore a puzzle. Variations in nail frequency are affected by both architectural variations and depositional processes. Log architecture uses fewer nails than does frame construction. At its simplest, a log house can be constructed with no nails or any other iron artifact, although this was extremely uncommon during the nineteenth century. However, log construction can also utilize a large number of nails. By 1840, cut nails were a commonly purchased item; Thomas sold cut nails for 16 2/3 cents per pound (Thomas 1841:124). The Welch house, with a board roof, plank floors, and wooden shutters, undoubtedly contained numerous cut nails. The method in which a structure was destroyed also greatly affects deposition. If the structure was burned down, which occurred frequently through accidental or purposeful means, archaeological deposits may contain an abundance of nails and nail fragments. Alternatively, if the structure was dismantled, then very few examples of this architectural item may be recovered. This is particularly true if the structure was dismantled to recover lumber, logs, nails, or other architectural items for reuse.

Depositional processes also affect the recovery of nails. In certain cases the debris from a destroyed or dismantled structure may be carried away from the site in order to neaten the area for reuse. In such a case, few architectural artifacts will be found in the structure deposits, although they

might be recovered from a nearby midden area. In many cases, however, the remains of the razed building were deposited into the exposed cellar pit or pits. Such pits represented handy trash receptacles; the deposits could be covered with a layer of clay or topsoil, and the building site used immediately for new construction. This was likely the case for the Welch kitchen. Although the construction of the kitchen included a large number of nails, few were recovered from the cellars. If the kitchen had been burned, more of the nails would be better preserved, and there would be a much greater amount of wood charcoal, which was almost absent from the pits. It is likely that the kitchen was dismantled because it was getting too old for safe use. The kitchen may have been constructed in 1823 as their first residence, and then converted to an external kitchen sometime in the late 1820s or early 1830s. The 1860 gold survey map shows the main house containing a kitchen ell. This structure was added to the main house when the old kitchen was dismantled, sometime between 1850 and 1860 (the kitchen ell does not appear on the 1850 Western Turnpike map). Once the kitchen had been torn down and the logs and lumber removed (and probably used in the construction of the new, attached kitchen), the three open cellar pits would have been exposed, presenting a hazard. All of the debris that had fallen and been swept under the kitchen between 1823 and 1850 was swept into these three open pits. Numerous artifacts in the assemblage, particularly ceramic sherds, date to the 1820s and 1830s. Although these artifacts represent a small percentage of the entire assemblage, they represent 15 years of Welch occupation at the site.

Architectural materials recovered from the Welch site also include 130 fragments of burned clay, or daub. These fragments are associated with the construction of a stick and clay chimney attached to the kitchen described by Welch and Jarrett in 1837. This was the most common form of chimney construction at the time: a stone pad or base was first built, forming the firebox. On top of this stone foundation, logs or "sticks" were cribbed, in similar fashion to the construction of a log house or cabin. A thick layer of raw clay was then pressed into and over this wooden crib. Subsequent hearth fires hardened the clay, particularly near the firebox. These fired-clay fragments often carry the impressions on their interior of the wood fragments they were pressed against and on their exterior of

smoothed surfaces. Fourteen of the daub fragments from the Welch site carry such impressions, both internal impressions of wood grain, and external impressions that exhibit smoothing.

Stick and clay chimneys were common traits on log houses in the Southern Appalachians for Cherokees, whites, and blacks, and daub is regularly recovered from nineteenth century archaeological sites. Daub was recovered from the nearby contemporary sites of McCombs and Hawkins-Sourjohn, as well as the Cherokee removal era Christie and Chewkeeskee cabin sites. The daub fragments from the Welch site are relatively small, ranging in diameter from 0.9 cm to 5.6 cm. The small size of the recovered daub indicates that the kitchen was dismantled and the parts reused or deposited elsewhere. Daub fragments from stick and clay chimneys are often quite large; if the remains of the chimney had been dumped into the open cellar pits, excavation would have recovered larger fragments. These burned-clay fragments, as opposed to logs or nails, are not reuseable, and these remains must have been collected and deposited elsewhere. Such sparse architectural debris indicates the building was dismantled and many of its component parts reused.

Beyond the house lot were the activity areas, which together formed the core of the plantation complex. These activity areas, carefully spatially organized by the Welches, included (in 1837) a slave cabin, a log smoke house, a lumber house, a stable, and a corn crib. At present, archaeological investigations have not identified remains of any of these structures or activity areas. However, using Welch and Jarrett's descriptions, period accounts of plantation and farm patterning in the upland South, and landscape data from the Welch site, it is possible to reconstruct the layout of the entire Welch plantation complex. Given that livestock and crop production on the plantation remained relatively constant from 1835 through 1850, it is probable that the farm layout changed little from the time Welch and Jarrett performed their evaluation until the death of John Welch in 1852.

Nearest the main house was the smokehouse. This structure was a 12 x 12 ft log house with a board roof. Although called a smoke house in the evaluation, it is also possible that the structure was used to salt pork, a common meat-curing method in the region. Pork could be preserved through smoking or salting, or through a combination of both procedures (Wigginton 1972). Whichever

process was used, the small structures used to "cure" and store pork were called smokehouses. These small structures were generally placed near the house, often within the house or yard lot. This provided quick access to meat, and minimized danger of meat being stolen or damaged. Welch and Jarrett valued the structure at \$18, roughly two-thirds the value of the kitchen structure.

Near the house lot was the slave cabin. Welch and Jarrett described a cabin as 12 x 12 ft with a puncheon floor, stick and clay chimney with a stone foundation, and a board roof. Although their evaluation does not describe it as a slave cabin, it was probably inhabited by slaves. Slave cabins in the upland South (and in the low country) were almost always built close enough to the owner's house for the owners to monitor slave activities, and hinder escape (Orser 1988). During the 1830s and 1840s, the Welches owned eight or nine slaves (McRae 2000; Powell 1843b; United States Bureau of the Census 1850b). Construction of slave cabins behind the main house and near activity areas was also a common practice, to situate slaves close to their work areas, including the kitchen, smoke house, and stable. At the nearby McCombs site, Shumate found that the slave cabins were situated within 30 feet of a major activity area in which large fires were constructed (Shumate et al. 2000). Welch and Jarrett appraised this structure on the Welch farm at \$15, three dollars less than the value of the smoke house. Although the same size (12 x 12 ft), the smokehouse was either of newer construction, was more substantial, or contained more improvements than the cabin. This supports much of the documentation for the region in which housing provided for slaves was of poor construction (Dunaway 2003).

Other structures within the plantation complex included a small lumber house, stable, corn crib, and shop house. The lumber house, 11 x 11 ft, was valued at \$11. It was probably log construction, and used to store sawed lumber. Although most construction on the plantation was log, sawn planks were used for roofing, flooring, and other types of finishing. The corn crib was 20 x 7 ft and constructed using "round logs." This construction, sometimes called pole construction, was lighter than regular log construction, utilizing smaller diameter logs which were stripped of bark and used without much other modification. The floor space of the corn crib was 140ft². If the interior height of

the structure was 8 feet, the storage area would have encompassed 1,120ft³, and if 10 feet high, then 1,400ft³. In 1835 the Welches produced 1,200 bushels of corn, encompassing roughly 1,493ft³, and in 1850, 1,000 bushels of corn, encompassing roughly 1,244ft³. The corn crib was therefore constructed to hold nearly the maximum annual corn crop during the 1830s and 1840s.

The stable and horse lot, constructed near each other, would have been near the opposite end of the plantation complex from the house lot. This would reduce noise and odors coming from the area, and would also place these structures near the large pasture maintained by the Welches. The stable construction resembled the slave cabin: a 12 x 12 ft log house with a board roof. The value of the stable, \$15, was the same as the slave cabin. The only difference was that the stable had an attached trough and rack. The small size of the stable limited its use to no more than a few animals and would have been used to care for sick or birthing horses, cattle, hogs, or sheep. Livestock during this era generally received little care or feeding; much of the year they ranged freely in the mountains. Even during the cold winter months livestock received little care, as revealed by the lack of a barn to shelter large numbers of animals from extreme weather. The horse lot was an area enclosed by "450 rails." Using split rail, or worm, fence construction, these rails would have encompassed an area of roughly one acre. The fencing was valued at \$9, or 2 cents per rail. The lot was used to pen the numerous horses owned by the Welches, numbering 28 in the 1850 agricultural census. This was a considerable quantity, even for wealthy landowners in the area. The Welches probably acquired regular income through the sale of horses.

The last structure recorded within the main plantation complex by Welch and Jarrett was a "shop house." As with many of the structures, this was a 12 x 12 ft log structure with a board roof. The building probably served as a general shop area in which carpentry, blacksmithing, and other farm tools were stored and used. While there is no documentary or archaeological evidence of intensive or specialized activities on the farm, small-scale and simple carpentry, blacksmithing, and veterinary tasks would have been performed by laborers on the farm. The age or ephemeral nature of the construction is revealed by its low value of \$4.

Beyond the core of the farm complex were several other areas of activity. Shortly after moving to Valley River, the Welches built a water-powered grist mill on Welch Mill Creek, where it flows from the uplands into the valley floor (Figure 23). By 1837 the mill was already falling down. The construction of a grist mill that year by Gideon Morris suggests the two families, and perhaps the wider community, were sharing many such facilities. The agricultural fields maintained by the Welches, amounting to roughly 150 acres, were situated to the north, east, and south of the farm complex. These fields were used to grow corn, wheat, rye, and oats (United States Bureau of the Census 1850c). To the southwest of the Welch house was a springhead from which they gathered water. A spring house was constructed over the springhead, and a small log cabin nearby may have been occupied by slaves or tenants.

Domestic Crops

Before and after the removal, the Welches maintained roughly 160 acres of farmland (United States Bureau of the Census 1840a, 1850; Welch and Jarrett 1837). Although the family maintained or increased the production of crops and livestock after the removal, many of the social and economic structures on the farm changed. Most of the white tenants moved elsewhere after removal, and most of the work on the farm shifted to family members and African American slaves.

The 1837 Welch and Jarrett valuations list John and Ned Welch and tenants as farming a combined 164.5 acreage. This total is very close to the total farmed acreage for the combined fields of John Welch, Ned Welch, and John Powell in 1850. The 1850 agricultural schedule lists John Welch as maintaining 100 acres of farm land. In addition, it lists Ned Welch as owning 25 acres and John Powell 35 acres; the combined cropland for these three families was 160 acres (United States Bureau of the Census 1850c). The acreage recorded in 1837 were the same fields being planted in 1850, only at the later date they had been divided into three tracts, one for each family. The Powell and Ned Welch families lived very close to John and Betty Welch, and these three fields (or one large field) are centrally located between the three houses and the Valley River, providing quick access for workers from the three households.

As with the majority of local white and Cherokee farmers, the Welches grew far more corn than any other grain. In 1835, the family grew 1,200 bushels of corn (United States War Department 1835). In 1840 they recorded growing 1,000 bushels of corn. They also grew 90 bushels of rye and 150 bushels of potatoes (United States Bureau of the Census 1840a). In 1850 the combined agricultural production for the three families was 1,500 bushels of corn, 215 bushels of rye oats, and 200 pounds of potatoes (United States Bureau of the Census 1850c). These data suggest the amount of labor required to plant, tend, and harvest the corn changed little before and after removal. In 1838, the Welches owned eight slaves, while in 1840 and 1850 they owned nine (United States Bureau of the Census 1840b, 1850; United States War Department 1835). The age profiles of the slaves were similar between these two years; the work force represented by slave labor on the Welch plantation in 1850 comprised four adults (three females aged 40, 16, and 15, and an 18 year old male) and five children (three males aged 14, 8, and 6, and two females, aged 12 and four months). While most livestock was sold to drovers, much of the surplus grain was sold locally, due to the expense of shipping grain out of the mountains. The sale of grain was usually to standkeepers, who in turn sold it to drovers. In 1841, William Holland Thomas paid \$0.50 per bushel for "Indian corn" (Thomas 1841:137). Although the price of corn was volatile throughout the 1840s, it continued to provide a substantial portion of the income for many Cherokee and white farmers in the area (Dunaway 2003; Lewis 2000).

The growing season for corn in the Southern Appalachians generally extended from early spring through late fall. Plowing the fields in preparation for planting began in April. The fields were plowed once or twice, followed by harrowing to break up dirt clods and smooth the rows left by plowing. Most of the farming done at the time, by both Cherokees and whites, was with a single-horse shallow draft plow. This style of plowing had been in use by white farmers for some time, and had been slowly introduced to Cherokees through the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Riggs 1999:223-224). This style of plow appeared in more than 300 Cherokee spoliation claims (Riggs 1999:223). Once the soil was prepared, planting proceeded in early May, after the last frost had

occurred. Seed corn was saved from the previous year's crop, taking up to five percent of the total harvest (Lewis 2000). Planting was performed by men, women and older children. Once the seed was planted, little was done until the corn sprouted. At this point the plants were often thinned out. Care for the remainder of the spring and the summer involved regular hoeing to kill weeds which would choke out the corn. Weeding was done with large, iron-bladed "Scovill" hoes. Slave children as young as five or six performed tasks in agricultural fields such as pulling weeds (Dunaway 2003:57). In a letter to John Taylor, dated July 23, 1855, John C. Welch, Jr. apologizes for not writing sooner, describing "having so much corn to hoe" as the reason (John C. Welch 1855). Corn production using these methods usually yielded between eight and twenty-five bushels of corn per acre (Baden 1987; Riggs 1999:144-145).

Although not recorded in the documentary sources for the Welch farm, it is likely that squash and beans were planted in the corn fields after the corn had sprouted. Bean plants are runners, and require a frame to climb in order to thrive. Corn stalks provided this structure, negating the need of the farmer to construct frames. Additionally, beans return nitrogen to the soil.

All of the corn produced by both whites and Cherokees in the region was the type then commonly referred to as "Indian corn." The phrase encompassed several common varieties, including flint, dent, and sweet corn. These varieties were often planted sequentially, reducing the chances of crop failures through extremes in weather or pests (Hill 1997:82-83). "Indian corn" was the phrase used to tally corn production in the 1840 and 1850 federal census agricultural schedules. Corn hybrids were not grown in the United States until the late nineteenth century (Baker 1974).

The processing and consumption of corn is well documented in the Welch site archaeological record. Carbonized maize cupules, kernels, and cobs, comprising roughly half of the floral assemblage, reflect the importance of corn in the Welch diet (Cuthrell 2005; Appendix B). The floral assemblage also reveals the significance of wheat and rye in the Welch diet. Although not recovered in the same numbers as corn, these two species are well represented by carbonized grains (Cuthrell

2005; Appendix B). The presence of rye is also documented in the agricultural census data; in 1850, the Welches harvested 90 bushels of rye.

The presence of wheat grains in the assemblage is interesting. The Welches did not claim wheat production in 1850 (United States Bureau of the Census 1850c). It is possible that they grew wheat in the 1840s, or perhaps rotated different grains from year to year. Grains of oats and rice were recovered from the assemblage in small numbers. Rice can not be grown in the mountains, and was probably purchased by the Welches from Thomas's store, which supplied rice and other foods shipped from the lowcountry South (Cuthrell 2005). Oats can be grown in the region, although there is no documentation that the Welches raised it. Oats were often used as fodder for animals, and therefore the presence of the grain in small numbers in the house area may reflect its use elsewhere on the farm (Cuthrell 2005:40-45).

The similar amounts of production between the Welch corn crop between 1835 and 1850 suggest the Cherokees of Welch's Town provided little labor toward the harvest. It is likely that the labor used to produce the corn (and other vegetables) on the Welch farm came from the enslaved African Americans and members of the Welch extended family. The Welch family comprised of 11 adults and 13 children in 1850 (Table 5), while slave labor included four adults and five children, comprising a labor force adequate for this level of production. In addition, these individuals (the Welches, Powells, and their slaves) all lived near the agricultural fields owned by the Welch extended family. In contrast, most members of Welch's Town lived to the north in the rugged Snowbird Mountains.

The documentary records suggest the families of Welch's Town reestablished most of their social, political, and economic town practices. This includes the maintenance of small, family-controlled fields of 3-5 acres, used to grow corn and other vegetables for family consumption (Riggs 1999). Despite the accusations of Hindman, it is unlikely members of this community provided substantial labor in the production of the Welch crops, but instead tended their own fields and vegetable gardens. The acreage of tillable land on Welch Mill Creek and Townhouse Branch

(approximately 115 acres) provided an adequate resource for the production of crops and gardens for the 30 (or fewer) families of Welch's Town who resided there.

Livestock

In the upland South, livestock represented a relatively secure form of wealth and a viable source of annual income. The Unicoi Turnpike passed through Cherokee County, traversing from eastern Tennessee to northern Georgia. This thoroughfare connected the Tennessee Valley and the southern tip of the Appalachians to the lowcountry. During the early and mid nineteenth century, the turnpike was traveled by thousands of drovers, transporting cattle, sheep, hogs, turkeys, and other livestock and game to the lowcountry for consumption on cotton plantations (Inscoc 1996:41-52). The economy of Cherokee County, as other nearby counties, depended on this business. Stock stands, or inns, were constructed roughly 13 to 16 km (8-10 miles) apart along the route, the distance a drover could travel in a day with a herd of stock. Local farmers sold surplus grain to these innkeepers, who in turn sold it to the drovers. More importantly, drovers regularly purchased livestock from local farmers, who otherwise would have difficulty in converting them into cash. Prior to the construction of railroads, transportation costs limited the sale of grain by local farmers, and so, in many mountain counties, livestock was the preferred method of wealth accumulation.

The Welches raised large numbers of cattle and hogs for years prior to the removal. In 1838, the Welches claimed "one Hundred & fifty head of cattle twenty six head of Sheep one hundred and twenty five head of Hogs fifteen head of Horses" (Welch 1838a). In 1850 (the first year in which an agricultural schedule was recorded), the census lists the Welch plantation as containing 28 horses, 30 milk cows, 1 ox, 72 "other cows" (mostly beef cattle), 91 sheep, and 109 swine, valued at \$2,554. John Welch alone listed his stock value at \$1,440 (United States Bureau of the Census 1850c). The Welch investment in livestock was among the largest in the county. Only 15 other families (including the Morrisses) listed livestock value over \$1,000 (United States Bureau of the Census 1850c). Part of the Welch's focus on livestock was due to the unusually high labor pool they were connected with: not only enslaved African Americans, but a much larger force of Cherokees. Although the Cherokee

community did not provide intensive labor on the Welch farm, they did provide services to the Welches that enabled substantial income. Living on Townhouse Branch, they were situated in the uplands and near the crest of the Snowbird Mountains. This area was on the edge of an extensive tract of steep, wooded, and unsettled land to the north — a perfect landscape in which to acquire many natural resources. Members of Welch's Town tended the Welch livestock (cattle and hogs) as well as their own, in these mountains (Welch 1846b). Throughout the fall and winter, these areas provided the necessary mast (particularly chestnuts and hickory nuts) which fattened them much better than could be done with grain and hay (Adair 1930:242). This made the Welch livestock more valuable and, more importantly, saved them a substantial amount of grain, which could be sold to drovers.

During the late spring and summer, the Welch livestock would have been kept along the valley floor, where they could feed on grass. While the fields along the Valley River were used for crop production, a large field behind the Welch house was probably used for grazing (Figure 23). This 15-acre tract is too low in elevation for crop production; periodic floods make growing crops untenable, as does a high clay content in the soil. However, the soils are well suited for grasses. The area was probably bordered with split rail fencing and divided into separate pens for cattle and hogs. A horse lot delineated by a split rail fence was listed for the Welch farm in 1837 (Welch and Jarrett 1837).

It is difficult to determine the annual income the Welches made on livestock. Farmers carefully calculated the number of cattle, sheep, hogs, and other livestock necessary for family consumption, herd maintenance, and sale; livestock represented a large percentage of income for many farmers in the upland South (Dunaway 2003:65-69; Lewis 2000). Lewis, in his calculations of farm production in the region, provides rough estimates of percentages of herds that were commonly sold, maintained, and butchered for consumption (Lewis 2000). He estimates that, annually, roughly 20 percent of cattle, 40 percent of sheep, and 44.5 percent of hogs were sold or butchered each year (Lewis 2000:292). Lewis also provides estimates of the value of cattle, hogs, and sheep. However, accurate rates of butchering, sale, and value are extremely difficult to estimate; variables include the specific region under consideration, variations in the weather and the market, and family choice (Lewis 2000).

However, it is reasonable to assume that the Welches annually gained a large proportion of their income from the sale of livestock.

Artifacts associated with livestock recovered from the Welch site consist of only two items: a section of a chain containing three links, and a horseshoe fragment. The near absence of artifacts associated with livestock is due to site location: the main house and kitchen area was geographically distant from the area of livestock maintenance. However, the production of livestock is well represented by the abundance of faunal remains from the cellar pits. Cow, pig, sheep, turkey, and chicken are represented by fragments of ribs, long bones, mandibles and maxillae, vertebrae, scapulae, foot bones, and eggshell (Appendix C).

The faunal assemblage includes 49 cow bones and fragments; analysis identified seven subadults and four adults. The most interesting aspect of this portion of the faunal assemblage is the presence and ratio of certain bones. The vast bulk of cow bones comprise ribs, vertebrae, and mandible and maxilla fragments. Limbs are represented only by a single radius (exhibiting perimortem fractures) and two phalanges. What happened to the legs? The answer is found in the collection of unidentified bone. A large portion of the faunal assemblage could not be identified at the genus level, and 295 bone fragments were identified only as "large mammal." Within this assemblage of large mammal bones are 32 long bone fragments; 15 exhibit perimortem fractures. It is probable that most of these long bones are from butchered cattle (and perhaps pig as well), and the limbs have been chopped or crushed to access the marrow. A traditional form of Cherokee cooking involved crushing long bones and cooking them in a soup so that not only the meat but the marrow could be consumed, providing additional protein. This process, however, has not been recorded in contemporary white or black households in the area. The intentional breaking or chopping of long bones is revealed by the intact nature of most other kinds of bones. Long bones recovered from archaeological sites are often better preserved than any other, given their density. However, only one bovid long bone, a radius, was complete enough to identify to genus.

The large number of cow bones in the assemblage is unusual. Most people in the area regularly butchered hogs for home consumption; pork could be easily preserved by smoking or salting. However, most people who raised cattle did so for monetary gain. The cuts from a butchered cow could not be preserved for a long period, and these animals were often butchered for consumption during a communal event. The abundance of cow bones suggests the Welches, at least periodically, were butchering one or more cows to feed a large number of people. These activities may be associated with the Welch house serving as a hub of activity for the Cherokees of Welch's Town. When roughly half of the members of Welch's Town congregated at the Welch house to reject Thomas Hindman's plea for their emigration, the Welches may have butchered cattle and other livestock to feed the group. It is also possible that the Welches butchered cattle and hogs for annual events such as the green corn ceremony. Indeed, the archaeological assemblages from the three cellar pits seem to represent such an event.

Pig is represented by 75 bone fragments, ranging in age from infants to adults. Three-quarters of the pig bones in which age was determined were subadult, showing a selective butchering process. By the 1830s, pig was by far the most commonly consumed meat in the region, for all racial and economic groups. In the upland South, pigs were regularly butchered for family consumption, due largely to the ability of locals to preserve the meat (Lewis 2000:290). Alternatively, cattle were usually raised for sale to drovers, who moved herds to the lowcountry South for consumption on plantations. Remains of swine have been recovered from most mid nineteenth century sites in the area, including the Christie cabin site, the McCombs slave cabins, and the Hawkins-Sourjohn cabin (Riggs 1999; Whyte 2000).

In contrast to the large number of cow and pig remains, a single distal portion of an adult sheep or goat was recovered. Although sheep and goats were not nearly as common in the spoliation claims as cattle or swine, several Cherokee families raised these animals (United States War Department 1835). Sheep were raised primarily for wool, to be spun for home production or for sale. Goats, alternatively, were raised for meat. Riggs (1999:217) notes that several Cherokee Baptist preachers

maintained herds of goats, possibly as a ready source of meat for hosting congregations. However, the bone fragment most likely came from a sheep; the Welches claimed 91 head of sheep on the 1850 agricultural census (United States Bureau of the Census 1850c). At least during this year, the Welches raised more sheep than cattle, and almost as many sheep as swine, suggesting they devoted a substantial amount of labor to sheep shearing and wool production. It is probable that they spun the wool themselves (Ned Welch claimed a loom house in 1838), but it is unknown if they wove the wool or sold it as yarn to Thomas or Hunter, both of whom purchased wool and homespun clothing (Hunter 1836-1838; Thomas 1839-1843).

A large number of chicken bones and eggshell fragments (n=98) reflects the importance of this species in the Welch diet, who regularly consumed both the eggs and meat. This is somewhat unusual; most Cherokees raised chickens for eggs, a significant source of protein (Riggs 1998:218). The Welches may have sold eggs to stores owned by William Holland Thomas or A.R.S. hunter. Cherokees regularly sold eggs to local stores or white families; the standard price was \$0.01 per egg (Hunter 1836-1838). Of the 98 bones and bone fragments, 42 were identified regarding age; four were juvenile, 30 were subadult, and eight were adult. The high percentage of subadults reflects a selective butchering process, also observed in the pig and turkey remains.

While the remains of turkey often represent hunting, the remains from the Welch site suggest they were raised domestically. Nineteen turkey bones were recovered. Age was identified in 14 specimens; 13 of these were subadult and one was adult. The prevalence of subadults suggests the Welches maintained a large-scale fowl yard and raised turkeys as well as chickens. While the turkeys were raised for home consumption, they may also have been raised for sale to drovers traveling along the Unicoi Turnpike. Drovers regularly purchased livestock from farmers on the journey, including cattle, swine, and turkeys (Inscoc 1996:45-51). The Welches, whom had financed the construction of a road from their farm to Murphy in the 1820s, probably an annual profit from the sale of cattle, swine, and turkey, as reflected in their spoliation claims, the 1850 federal census, and the archaeological remains (United States Bureau of the Census 1850c; Welch 1846b).

The Welches also raised rabbits. A femur of a European domesticated rabbit was recovered from the assemblage. This species may not have been a significant source of protein for the Welches; the remains of wild rabbit are much more common (see wild plants and game). However, the femur hints at the diversity of activities the Welches practiced on the plantation; while fowl yards containing chickens and turkeys were commonly kept by Cherokees and whites, rabbit hutches are rarely documented (Riggs 1999).

The faunal remains recovered from the three cellar pits at the Welch site demonstrate a diverse set of domesticates, beyond cattle and hogs, raised by the Welches for meat, eggs, and income. Remains of chickens, subadult turkeys, eggshell, and European hares illustrate the maintenance of a large fowl yard and hutch. Numerous articulated bones and a lack of animal gnawing on the faunal remains reveal these deposits were dumped quickly after consumption. While the smaller domesticated animals were used mainly for home consumption, remains of livestock — cattle, swine, and horses — represented substantial wealth for the Welches. The members of Welch's Town expanded that wealth, by providing labor to caretake and feed the animals. By feeding the hundreds of head of Welch livestock on rich mast in the wooded uplands, they also saved the Welches substantial amounts of grain (Welch 1846b).

Wild Plants and Game

In addition to tending livestock in the mountains, the Cherokees of Welch's Town also collected wild plant foods for their own and Welch family consumption. As previously noted, Welch's Town was located near the crest of the Snowbird Mountains, placing it at the southern edge of an expansive tract of mountainous, wooded, and largely unpopulated land. Here the Cherokees collected a diverse variety of plant and animal resources, as revealed by the abundance and variety of floral and faunal remains from the Welch site assemblage (Appendices B, C).

Fragments of carbonized chestnuts, hickory nuts, hazelnuts, and beechnuts were recovered from the cellar pit excavations. Chestnuts and hickory nuts were collected in the fall. Before the chestnut blight destroyed the chestnut forests of the eastern United States in the 1930s (Hill 1997:266), the

American chestnut was a common forest species. Chestnut forests sometimes produced so much mast, the ground surface was obscured (Hill 1997:10). Hickory nuts could also be recovered in great quantities, and both provided fat and protein to the diet of people and animals. Cherokees traditionally boiled nutmeat for the oil. Chestnuts were also dried, crushed into flour, and used to make bread (Hill 1997:10). Hickory nuts were boiled and the juice mixed with water to make a milk-like beverage (Goodwin 1977:59; Hill 1997:10). Hazelnut and beechnut remains were also recovered. The use of these two species is not as well documented as chestnut and hickory nut, although Cherokees and whites alike are known to have recovered them for the same uses. The recovery of chestnuts from archaeological sites is unusual, given their thin, delicate outer skin. The remains of chestnuts, hickory nuts, hazelnuts, and beechnuts suggest the importance of these foods in the Welch diet and the continued consumption of at least some foods in the traditional Cherokee diet.

Seeds representing a variety of greens were recovered: amaranth, chenopod, poke, smartweed, and evening primrose (Cuthrell 2005). These plants were commonly collected in both forest settings and in more open areas of disturbed growth, such as along field edges, by Cherokees during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Schroedl and Shea 1986; Witthoft 1977). These species were also semi-cultivated by some Cherokees. Preparation involved boiling, draining, and frying in fat. Often two or more varieties were mixed together (Witthoft 1977:250). Remains of carpetweed and purslane were identified in the assemblage; these species may have been consumed as greens, or may have been deposited unintentionally in the deposits (Cuthrell 2005).

A variety of native fruits were used by the Welches, including grape, blueberry, elderberry, blackberry, mulberry, plum, honey locust, ground cherry, nightshade, and sumac (Cuthrell 2005). These items were probably collected primarily by the members of Welch's Town, who had readier access to these wild species.

While the Welches grew and consumed a number of non-native grains, it is worth noting that native species represent more than two thirds of the flora in the assemblage, both in counts of remains and numbers of species (Cuthrell 2005:37-39). While certain remains, such as purslane and

carpetweed, may have been introduced unintentionally, the diversity and number of native species indicates the consumption by the Welch family of a number of traditional Cherokee foods. This continuity may represent both a continued social connection with the members of Welch's Town and one of their main contributions to the Welch plantation economy. While the Welch family maintained many social and economic practices associated with western society, foodways may have served as a social bond that tied these two groups together.

Numerous species of wild game were recovered from the Welch site, including deer, bear, turkey, rabbit, raccoon, and squirrel (Appendix C). While the deer population was greatly reduced compared to the eighteenth century, this species was still hunted by Cherokees, whites, and by some slaves (Inscoc 1996). Wild game complimented the diet of many people, particularly the poor, which was often protein deficient. While members of the Welch family (and perhaps their slaves as well) hunted, the members of Welch's Town spent more time in the wooded mountains, where wild game was to be found.

Several bones of white-tailed deer were recovered. Two antler tines were carved into handles for kitchen utensils; both were broken along the drilled shaft and discarded. Both adult and subadult individuals are present. A subadult femur and distal and proximal epiphyses were recovered from Zone 2 of Feature 1. Analysis revealed the deer was 18 months old and killed in November or December. Recovery of the femur and epiphyses from the same provenience reveals the upper leg was articulated when deposited in the pit; the soil zone was therefore deposited in November or December. The seasonality of the deer femur provides important evidence for the filling of the cellar pits.

The significance of deer in the Cherokee diet at mid century is unclear. Although a staple during the eighteenth century, venison was largely replaced by pork by the early nineteenth century (Riggs 1999:394). However, faunal remains from deer commonly appear on house sites with Cherokee, white, and black occupants in the region during this era. Deer remains were recovered from the removal era Chewkeeskee site and the mid nineteenth century slave cabins at the McCombs site.

However, none were recovered from the Christie cabin site, occupied by a wealthy Cherokee family on the Hiwassee River. Instead, their diet seemed to focus more on domesticated species, particularly pork and chicken (Riggs 1999:442-446).

Numerous cottontail rabbit bones were recovered. In contrast to the presence of a single European domestic rabbit bone, these were probably hunted in the wild, suggested both by the common practice of hunting rabbits by Cherokees and whites and by the presence of adult and subadult remains. Additionally, lead shot recovered from the site illustrates the use of shotguns by the Welches. Cottontail rabbit bones were by far the most numerous remains of wild animals from the site (excepting fish). The rabbit remains may be associated with a late fall/early winter rabbit hunt, a scenario supported by the November-December seasonality of the deer femur and epiphyses.

The distal phalanx, or claw, of a black bear was recovered. As with deer, black bear was commonly hunted in the mountains during the eighteenth century. Cherokees hunted bear for meat, fat, and hides (Hill 1997). They also told mythological stories about black bears, often dealing with the bears' similarities to humans (Mooney 1982:447-448). During the nineteenth century the black bear population seems to have dwindled, as did the deer. There are few accounts of Cherokees hunting bears, but it is probable that whites and Cherokees hunted the black bear throughout the century. The presence of a single black bear bone, particularly that of a whole claw, suggests the black bear had been killed and butchered elsewhere. Perhaps the claw had been carried by a Cherokee for quite some time before being deposited in the pit with the food remains and other trash. It may also represent the use of a bearskin rug in the Welch household.

One squirrel and eight raccoon bones were recovered, representing adults and subadults of both species. Squirrels were commonly hunted by Cherokees with firearms and blowguns. Raccoons were not consumed on a regular basis, but their consumption by Cherokees has been documented in the eighteenth century (Bogan et al. 1986).

Four bones derived from a bobwhite(s). This bird was regularly consumed in the area; bobwhite remains were recovered from the McCombs site (Whyte 2000). Cherokees hunted bobwhites and

similar-sized birds with both shotguns and blowguns. The bobwhite remains were recovered from the same provenience as the cottontail and mallard remains. This context also contained several fragments of lead shot. Although evidence of blowguns rarely appears in the archaeological record, the presence of lead shot suggests many or all of the wild animals represented in the features were killed with a shotgun.

Four mallard bones were recovered. Two were identified as adult, and all four may represent a single bird. Ducks and geese were sometimes raised by Cherokees and by whites, primarily for feathers for down mattresses, pillows, and blankets. Feathers were commonly sold for the same use (Inscoc 1996; Riggs 1999; United States War Department 1835). However, in contrast to the abundant numbers of chicken and turkey, these few fragments suggest this mallard(s) was shot in the wild.

Fish were a significant natural resource throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for Cherokees, well documented in the historic record and on archaeological sites (Adair 1930; Bogan et al. 1986; Dickens 1976; Williams 1927). Common methods of collection included stone weirs, gigs, nets, poisoning, and hook and line (Altman 2006:40-56). A wide variety of fish, including bass, trout, redhorse, perch, drum, and catfish, were consumed (Bogan et al. 1986; Hill 1997; Riggs 1999). Locally, fishhooks were available at Hunter's store (Hunter 1836-1838). A barbed fishhook fashioned from a brass pin was recovered from the Welch assemblage (Figure 25).

A total of 79 fish bones and cartilage fragments was recovered. Seven of these were identified as adult large-mouth bass and a single fragment as bass. An additional 57 fragments were identified as belonging to the sunfish/bass family, and 14 bone fragments were identifiable only as bony fish. It is probable that all of these remains represent large mouth bass. The pieces identified as such were the more distinctive parts from the head and tail. Alternatively, most of the bones identified only as sunfish/bass family were vertebrae or scales, remains much more difficult to identify. A single creek chub pharyngeal was also recovered, but may have found its way into the assemblage by having been consumed by a bass (Tom Whyte, personal communication).

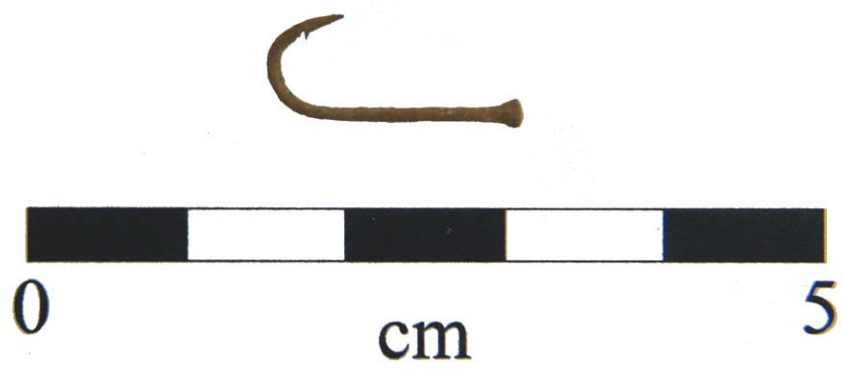


Figure 25. Fishhook manufactured from brass pin.

The focus on large-mouth bass by the Welch family is unusual; Cherokees historically collected a variety of fish species. The fish remains may represent a single episode of fishing, probably by hook and line, in which the fishermen or women were using bait specifically to catch large-mouth bass. The brass pin converted into a fishhook was recovered in a soil zone immediately beneath a zone containing numerous large-mouth bass bones, and may have been dumped into the pit still attached to a de-articulated fragment.

Two fragments of an adult snapping turtle, a carapace and a vertebra, were recovered. Throughout the early and mid nineteenth century, Cherokees consumed a wide variety of animals to maintain adequate protein intake. These included smaller species such as turtles and frogs, and remains of such have been recovered from numerous nineteenth century Cherokee sites (Riggs 1999:396).

The variety of firearms-related artifacts attests to the diverse technologies used on the Welch plantation. Artifacts include lead balls, shot, sprue, gunflints, brass percussion caps, and a handmade lead bullet mold (Figure 26). Firearms in the form of shotguns and smoothbore muskets were used by the Cherokee, white, and perhaps black inhabitants of the Welch farm and were used to hunt deer, bear, rabbit, squirrel, and perhaps other species of wild game.

Two small gunflints represent the use of flintlock firearms. These gunflints probably were fitted to a pistol, and may have been disposed of prior to the Cherokee removal. It is likely the Welches used flintlock longarms as well as pistols. By 1850, the flintlock ignition system was being supplanted by the percussion cap. However, flintlock arms continued to be used during through mid century. The recovery of three copper percussion caps reveals the use of these more modern firearms. These three small caps were unfired; the firing surface of each contains a capital "D." The fact that they were unfired suggests they were accidentally dropped and lost through cracks in the puncheon floor of the kitchen.

Numerous bullets and pieces of shot reveal the use of shotguns and small and large caliber smoothbore rifles. A single 0.44 caliber spherical ball and one half of a 0.44 caliber lead bullet mold



Figure 26. Firearms-related artifacts. A) gunflint, B) brass pistol cap, embossed "D", C) half of handmade 0.44 caliber bullet mold, D) 0.44 caliber ball, E) lead shot.

were recovered. The mold was handmade; it was probably manufactured by forming a small rectangular depression in a fragment of raw clay. The rough exterior surface of the lead mold supports this method of construction. Into this depression a small quantity of molten lead was poured. When the lead cooled slightly, a 0.44 caliber ball was carefully pushed halfway into the warm lead, to the maximum circumference of the ball. When the lead mold had cooled it was carefully removed, and the process repeated to form the second half of the mold. It is possible that the 0.44 caliber ball recovered from the site was produced in the lead mold. However, this is difficult to determine because the interior surfaces of the mold have been deeply incised with the blade of a knife. Home production of lead bullets was common; at his nearby store in Murphy, Thomas sold "bar lead" for this purpose (Thomas 1841:13, 146, 155).

Several pieces of lead shot were recovered. Lead pellets, or "shot," utilized in shotguns, are classified by size. Twenty pieces of lead shot, measuring between 3mm and 4mm in diameter, were recovered. These two sizes fall within the mid range of "bird shot," commonly used to hunt duck, turkey, and pheasant. This size range can also be used for rabbit and squirrel hunting. The numerous fragments of lead shot suggest members of Welch's Town or the Welch plantation regularly hunted avian species as well as rabbit and squirrel with shotguns. The provenience from which most of the lead shot was recovered also contained the remains of turkey, mallard, bobwhite, rabbit, and raccoon.

At mid-century, hunting and fishing were common activities pursued by many people in the region. In many ways, these activities often reveal class disparities more than race or ethnicity: those without adequate access to domestic livestock for a regular source of meat often turned to hunting and fishing. However, race and ethnicity can also be identified in certain instances. The number of large mammal bones exhibiting perimortem fractures is unusual on nineteenth century sites, more akin to prehistoric and early historic Indian sites. The practice of crushing long bones to extract the marrow seems to be a distinctive indicator of ethnicity during this era, and no such examples were identified at the McCombs or Hawkins-Sourjohn sites. The wide variety of cuts of domestic livestock is also telling; documentary and archaeological evidence suggests that African American slaves in the

antebellum South relied on a very restricted diet which included poor cuts of pork. This scenario is illustrated at the McCombs site, where almost 90 percent of a large assemblage of pig bones was fragments of the head or feet (Whyte 2000).

The food remains from the Welch site reveal the complexity and contextual nature of foodways. The assemblage is unique: it contains evidence for the consumption of beef, pork, chicken, corn, oats, and wheat, but also a wide variety of wild plants and game. This novel assemblage was derived by the Welch family's wealth and their association with the members of Welch's Town, by which their already-rich diet was heavily supplemented. The Welches ate better than anyone else in the region.

Cloth and Clothing Production

A significant portion of the Welch income came from the home manufacture of yarn, cloth, and clothing, performed by female members of the Welch family and female slaves. The female members of Welch's Town, living a mile to the north, probably did not participate in this activity for the Welches.

Cloth and clothing production was a common activity in most households in the antebellum Southern Appalachians. These diverse activities included growing flax and shearing wool, preparing these fibers, weaving cloth, producing clothing from homemade or purchased cloth for home use and sale, and mending clothes. In the early nineteenth century, women in many households performed all or most of these tasks. By mid-century, many people purchased cloth from local retailers and made clothing for home use, skipping the laborious processes involved in cloth production. In households where surplus production was part of the family economy, cloth and clothing often represented a significant source of income.

Throughout the nineteenth century, weaving and sewing were considered women's and girls' work. By mid century, these activities had become entwined with early Victorian concepts of domesticity, and the image of the woman or girl sewing or embroidering was common in magazines and books (Beaudry 2006). Nonetheless, the potential cash income that these activities represented often gave women significant economic power within the household. These activities also formed a

crucial part of the diverse farm economic organization: most of the work was done indoors and therefore could be performed during any season, and by females ranging in age from young girls to elderly women. The products were not only necessary items in the household but readily saleable at local retailers.

The significance and ubiquity of these activities is illustrated by the regular sale of sewing items by local retailers: cloth, thread, needles, pins, thimbles, buttons, and hooks were among the most common. Pins were sold in packets. Merchants purchased pins in bulk and repackaged them in paper packets by size or as an assortment (Beaudry 2006). Buttons made of bone, shell, porcelain, brass, pewter, and iron were sold by the pack. The cheapest buttons were made of bone; these items were also produced in many homes. Pewter, iron, and brass buttons were more expensive, but were often used on utilitarian items such as work pants and jackets. Shell and porcelain buttons, reserved for finer items, were the most expensive (Beaudry 2006).

As in most areas of the Southern Appalachians, storekeepers at Hunter's store in Murphy and William Holland Thomas's several stores in the region recorded regular sales of sewing items. In most cases these materials were sold in small quantities for production of clothing for home use. In other cases, however, larger sales represented the production of clothing and/or cloth for sale or trade. Both Hunter and Thomas purchased or traded goods for homemade cloth and clothing from local producers (Godbold and Russell 1990; Hunter 1836-1838; Riggs 1999:274). As with livestock, many of these goods were shipped to the lowcountry and purchased by plantation owners for slaves.

Although the household production of cloth in the mountains declined during the nineteenth century, contemporary records suggest it was still a relatively common practice at mid-century. Traveler's accounts usually contrasted local cloth production with the industrialization of the craft in the northeastern United States, and may have overestimated the level of local cloth production to romanticize the quaintness of southern Appalachia (e.g. Lanman 1849). However, numerous Cherokee households contained spinning wheels, looms, and cards at the time of removal (Riggs 1999:239-243). At the Welch farm, Welch and Jarrett documented a loom house owned by Ned

Welch (Welch and Jarrett 1837). Documentary records suggest a continued production of cloth and clothing by Cherokees and whites in Cherokee County after the removal. Ledgers from William Holland Thomas's stores show that items such as loom oil and other items used in cloth production were sold during the 1840s (Thomas 1841). Additionally, a large quantity of handmade cloth (homespun) was sold. Most homespun was produced locally, and sold for \$0.15 to \$0.25 per yard (Thomas 1841). A wide variety of imported cloths were also available. In the early 1840s Thomas's store in Murphy offered homespun (\$ 0.25/yard), buckram (\$0.25/yard, often used as a lining), flannel (\$0.25/yard), calico (\$0.25 to \$0.56 ^{1/4}/yard), checks (\$0.25 to \$0.50/yard; cotton with a preprinted check pattern), muslin (\$ 0.50/yard), gingham (\$0.31 to \$0.50/yard), sailduck (\$0.50/yard; heavy cotton or linen), "jeanes" (\$0.50 to \$0.60/yard), cambric (\$0.50 to \$0.62/yard), Irish linen (\$1.37/yard), merino wool (\$2.00/yard), Saxony cashmere (\$2.00/yard), and silk velvet (\$5.50/yard) (Thomas 1841).

The range in prices of many of these textiles is due to the varieties in which they were available. Many, such as calico and cambric, came in both plain and pre-dyed versions. A common form of calico was named "turkey red," which cost \$0.50 in 1841, versus half that for the plain version (Thomas 1841:160). "Turkey" referred to the location (Asia) of the madder plant from which the dye was extracted. "Turkey red" referred to the dyeing process, not a particular color. Thomas regularly sold the dye called "turkey red" (\$0.18 ^{3/4} per ounce; Thomas 1841:165) so that seamstresses could copy this popular style. Thomas sold other dyes, including indigo, madder, and copperas (Thomas 1841). The dyeing process, particularly for turkey red, was complicated and time consuming; the number of people who purchased textile dyes from Thomas in the 1840s reveals the amount of labor numerous families were investing in cloth and clothing production. This, as well as the amount of cloth and sewing accessories sold by Thomas, also reveals the lucrative nature of this venture. Cloths such as cashmere and silk velvet were used for the production of small items such as vests. On July 19, 1841, Alexander Raper purchased a "fine vest pattern" for \$1.75 from Thomas's Murphy store (Thomas 1841:150). Several other individuals also purchased vest patterns from Thomas in 1841

(Thomas 1841:156-158). Given the purchase of expensive cloths and patterns for such clothing items, it is obvious that some families in the area produced articles of clothing for sale.

Cloth and clothing production are visible in the Welch household through the archaeological and documentary records. A large number and variety of clothing-related artifacts in the Welch assemblage includes brass pins, bone, brass, pewter, iron, and gilt buttons, brass hooks and loops, and cloth and leather fragments (Figure 27). The Thomas store ledgers show a steady purchase of cloth and sewing accessories by the Welches and the Morrisses, as well as a lesser consumption of these items by members of Welch's Town. Before and after removal, the women within the Welch plantation economy, both free and enslaved, produced cloth and clothing for plantation consumption and for sale.

The Welches produced cloth and clothing throughout the 1830s and 1840s. A loom house is documented on the Ned Welch farm in 1837 (Welch and Jarrett 1837). The federal census shows the Welch plantation produced 155 pounds of wool and 8 pounds of flax in 1850 (United States Bureau of the Census 1850c). While these goods might have been sold in their raw state, they were probably processed into cloth and then clothing by women and girls on the plantation. In 1850, the Welch plantation work force contained 12 females, enslaved and free (Table 5): five girls, aged 5 through 14, and seven women, aged 15 through 50 (Chapman 1851; United States Bureau of the Census 1850a, 1850b; Siler 1851). This considerable work force could produce a significant amount of cloth and clothing for sale, in addition to the work clothes needed by the plantation inhabitants.

The federal census lists the Welch plantation "value of home manufacture" for 1850 totaling \$170. That year their neighbors, the Morrisses, produced \$235 worth of home manufacture (United States Bureau of the Census 1850c). Many activities performed for income, such as the production of butter, flax, and wool, are tallied individually on the census. Therefore, it is likely that the bulk of this income came from the production of cloth and clothing. Other income may have been derived from production of other commodities, such as whiskey or honey. However, there are no documentary or archaeological data to support the sale of these goods on the Welch farm. The wool and flax



Figure 27. Clothing-related artifacts. A) pewter button, B) iron button, C) brass pin with wire-wound head, D) brass pin with stamped head.

production on the Welch plantation (United States Bureau of the Census 1850c) suggests women performed the laborious tasks of transforming these fibers into cloth and perhaps clothing. Regional storekeepers, including William Holland Thomas and A.R.S. Hunter, regularly purchased cloth and clothing from local manufacturers (Godbold and Russell 1990; Hunter 1836-1838; Riggs 1999:274).

The Welches regularly purchased cloth at Thomas's stores. On July 7, 1841 Ned Welch purchased "2 Bolts wide Tape (\$0.25), 2 Bolts savoy Tape (\$0.25), 1 Skein Silk (\$0.12½), and 1 yd Sailduck [heavy cotton or linen] for lining (\$0.50) (Thomas 1841:136). The same month, Nancy Hawkins and her daughter Rose purchased 18 yards of calico for \$10.12. The ledger does not describe the color or pattern of the calico they purchased, but at \$0.56 ^{1/4} a yard, it was among the most expensive calicos in all of the Thomas ledgers (Thomas 1841:168). The purchase of 18 yards of calico reveals the scale of production on Valley River. The following entry in the Thomas ledger shows that the Cherokees at Welch's Town often purchased material for the Welches (Thomas 1841:169):

Chinoque [Owl] and wife Cata[?] lives at Welches	
5 yd bleached cloth 25	1.37 ½
1 handkerchief 50	0.50
Comb 18 ¾	0.18 ¾
For self	
3 yd striped domestic 50	1.50
1 piece [?] mixed cloth	0.81 ¼

The Welches maintained a substantial credit line with Thomas, and members of the Welch family as well as Cherokees from Welch's Town purchased items on credit. The Welches, as with other families, purchased an array of sewing items from Thomas and Hunter. These include pins, needles, thread, buttons, hooks, and eyelets. These items could not be produced on the farm (except for bone buttons) and were inexpensive. Items such as pins, buttons, and hooks most commonly appear in the archaeological record. The clothing-related artifacts recovered from the Welch site are numerous and diverse, and attest to the significance of these tasks in the plantation economy.

Brass pins and pin fragments comprise more than half of the clothing artifacts. These pins were manufactured using two different technologies. Twenty-eight of the pins were manufactured using a

two-step process. First, the shank was cut from a length of brass wire. Then a separate piece of wire was wound several times around the head of the shank, producing a relatively large and spherical head (Figure 27). This process, which had been in use since the sixteenth century, was largely superseded in the 1830s by a more efficient process. The new process, developed by Lemuel Wright in England, cut a shank and then stamped the head on the same piece. This single piece method produced a flatter pin head (Beaudry 2006:21). Twenty-eight pins in the assemblage were produced with this method. Half of the pins in which construction method was identified were produced using the earlier wire-wound head, and half using the later, single-piece method. These small artifacts were deposited during the transitional era of pin manufacture, or perhaps were carefully curated by the women on the Welch plantation.

The variation in length and shank thickness of the 56 whole brass pins illustrates the range of sewing activities on the Welch plantation. They range in length from 12mm to 39mm, coinciding with Beaudry's lills, short whites and middlins (or long whites) (Beaudry 2006:24-25). A single pin, 12mm in length, was a lill, used to pin fine fabrics before sewing, or to hold women's veils or other accessories in place. Most of the pins range in length from 24mm to 33mm, coinciding with short whites and middlins. These were the most commonly purchased pins, used for general sewing purposes, although pins of all sizes were sometimes used for different tasks (Beaudry 2006:24-25). The use of pins for an entirely different purpose is well illustrated by the lill that was transformed into a fish hook (see wild game, this chapter and Figure 25). Store owners often purchased large numbers of pins from wholesalers and then repackaged same-sized pins or needles into small paper packets for retail sale (Beaudry 2006:25). The presence of numerous pins of the same size may represent such a purchase by the Welch family.

Sewing needles were also available at local outlets. However, needles were purchased in smaller numbers than pins. In addition, they were produced from iron or steel, materials which degrade much quicker than brass or copper, from which most pins were produced (Beaudry 2006:47-51, 79-81).

Needles are therefore much rarer in the archaeological record; none were recovered from the Welch site assemblage.

A diverse assemblage of buttons reveals the variety of clothing items both worn and produced for sale on the Welch plantation. Eighteen buttons and fragments are made of brass, iron, pewter, and bone. A single iron button is gilt. Half of the buttons are made of bone. Bone buttons were the cheapest and most common type, regularly sold in bulk at stores and produced in many homes. These items were probably both purchased and produced on the Welch plantation. Several of the bone buttons exhibit precise symmetry and decorative techniques such as recessed obverse centers. Others, less symmetrical and lacking the simple design enhancements of their mass-produced counterparts, were handmade. Members of the Welch plantation worked bone into other items, such as utensil handles. Three bone buttons in particular are rough in appearance: the holes are off center, cross sections are thin and irregular, and they do not contain a drilled obverse recess. Bone buttons have been recovered from many mid nineteenth century sites in the region, including Hawkins-Sourjohn and the John Christie cabin site (Riggs 1999).

Five brass buttons, more expensive and fashionable than those of bone or iron, were worn on coats or vests. A large brass disc button with omega-eye attachment (Noel Hume type 18) was worn on the front of a man's jacket or coat. On the reverse is inscribed "strong superfine." A smaller disc button (Noel Hume type 18), inscribed "W WALLIS EXTRA," and exhibiting remnants of gilding, adorned a vest or coat sleeve, as did a domed button (Noel Hume type 27). Two brass disc buttons with recessed centers were probably worn on a coat; one has four holes (Noel Hume type 32) and the other five holes (Noel Hume 1970: 88-93).

Two identical cast, white-metal buttons exhibit a single row of embossed dots circling recessed centers. These are pewter or Britannia, two tin-based alloys used during the mid nineteenth century for a wide range of household goods. The buttons are probably Britannia metal, different from pewter in that it contains no lead. By the mid nineteenth century Britannia metal had increased in production due to the realization that the lead in pewter was potentially deadly in household usage. The reverse

of one of the buttons is partially coated in a thick matte-black paint. Both buttons, possibly from the same garment, were probably originally painted black and worn on work pants or another utilitarian garment.

A four-hole iron button inscribed on the reverse "[illegible] Pritchard & Co" refers to Elizur or Leonard Pritchard, button manufacturers in Waterbury Connecticut from the 1820s through the 1850s (Luscomb 1967:161).

Five brass wire hooks and loops were sewn into items of clothing. Four are lightweight and served as hooks or eyelets on dresses. A single brass eyelet was produced from heavier gauge wire and probably was part of a heavier piece of work wear.

Several degraded fragments of cloth and leather were recovered from the three cellar pits. The cloth fragments probably were from a single item of clothing but have degraded into several ragged fragments. These fragments were produced using a fine thread and simple weave. The material has not been identified, and could be flax, cotton, or hemp. The fragments are black; it is unknown if this was the original color or if the fragments were blackened during or after deposition. A similar piece of black, simple-weave cloth was recovered from the McCombs site (Shumate et al. 2000:7.92).

As for most women in the region, cloth and clothing production formed a regular, year-round task for the women on the Welch plantation. In this case these tasks provided necessary household goods and comprised a significant portion of the plantation income. The clothing-related artifacts reveal a western style of dress in the household: a diverse assemblage of dress and work buttons, brass hooks and eyelets, and small fragments of fine, simple weave cloth. These items are representative of the bulk of farms in the Southern Appalachians, and similar assemblages were recovered from the nearby sites of the McCombs slave cabins (Shumate et al. 2000:7.76-7.92), the pre-removal Christie cabin site (Riggs 1999:430-433), and the European American Hawkins-Sourjohn farm site (Riggs 1999:489). Alternatively, excavations at the removal era cabin site of the Chewkeeskee family recovered only one clothing-related artifact: a brass button (Riggs 1999:393). The men in this household probably wore traditional clothes: buckskin leggings, long hunting shirts,

moccasins, and turbans. These items continued to be worn by male traditionalists at the time of removal (Evans 1979:12; Featherstonhaugh 1847:283; Payne 1835), and leave no trace in the archaeological record. As opposed to the variety in Cherokee men's clothing, Cherokee women had, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, largely adopted western styles of dress (Evans 1979:12; Hitchcock 1930:7; Klinck and Talman 1970:51). Many of the small brass hooks and eyelets recovered from these sites were accessories on women's dresses.

Home sewing was a ubiquitous activity, usually performed by women, during the nineteenth century. Although sewing was largely associated with women's activities, the remains of clothing and sewing tools reflect particular historical and social issues of race and class, as well as gender (Beaudry 2006:169-171). For Betty Welch and her daughters and daughters-in-law, these materials and activities probably encompassed both tedium and a source of economic power; the sewing-related materials from the site, ledger accounts of regular purchases of these items, census data showing substantial income from "home manufacture," and the widespread trade and sale of homemade cloth and clothing, suggest that these women created substantial wealth in addition to needed utilitarian items of dress for plantation use. For the slave women and girls owned by the Welches, cloth production and sewing represented one of many daily chores from which they received little in return.

Gold Mining

On Valley River, gold mining could be an economically rewarding endeavor. Several Cherokees from Valley River claimed losses during the removal of both gold and gold-mining equipment, including pans and rockers (Riggs 1999:238-239; United States War Department 1835). In 1837, George Featherstonhaugh commented on Cherokees panning for gold on Valley River (Featherstonhaugh 1847), and the 1860 gold mining map shows the segment of Valley River adjoining the Welch farm as a probable area for placer deposits (Figure 4; Blake 1860).

Although there is no direct documentation for gold mining on the Welch land, it is probable that such work was performed seasonally, most likely by the Welch slaves. Dunaway (2003:119-125) and Inscoc (1996:71-73) documented gold mining as a regular task assigned to slaves in the upland South,

particularly during "down" times in agricultural production. As with many other slaveholders in southwestern North Carolina, gold mining by enslaved or free laborers may have comprised a significant, seasonal source of income for the Welches.

Conclusions

The documentary record, while providing details on the Welch holdings, is silent regarding their motives for aiding in the establishment of a traditional Cherokee community. Both during and after the removal, their actions reveal their desire to keep the Cherokee families of the Valley and Cheoah river valleys in North Carolina. Were they motivated by a desire to keep those with similar ideals of localism around them? Were their actions the results of family ties? Or, alternatively, were they motivated by western desires for quick access to cheap labor? These different motives have been written about regarding William Holland Thomas and the Qualla Town Cherokees (e.g. Finger 1984; Godbold and Russell 1990; Russell 1956). Thomas's motives may have been quite different from the Welch's. Thomas strove to maintain a high profile for himself and the Cherokees of Qualla Town. He spent years in Washington D.C. and Raleigh as agent, lawyer, and state senator, and was a booster for turnpike and railroad construction in the area (Godbold and Russell 1990). The Welches, on the other hand, maintained a relatively low profile. They acquired wealth and served as spokespeople for the Welch's Town Cherokees. However, they helped the Cherokees establish a community removed from the view of local whites, and they themselves never invited publicity. Excepting their trips to Murphy to address the boards of Cherokee commissioners, they rarely left their plantation. Interactions with military officers, Hindman, King, and others all took place on their land.

Both archaeological and documentary data suggest the members of Welch's Town did not provide substantial nor sustained labor on the Welch plantation. An investigation of federal census records reveals the labor provided by the Welch family and their slaves was adequate to produce and manage annual crop and livestock production. The Cherokees of Welch's Town did provide labor, in the form of tending Welch livestock in the mountains and providing the Welches with wild foods such as deer, bear, turkey, and mast. While representing a potentially substantial amount of labor, it

was seasonal and relatively insignificant within a plantation economy: the Welches could have fared quite well with the labor provided by themselves and their eight or nine slaves. In addition, Betty proved she was not interested in the legal fees stemming from the Cherokee claims that so many lawyers clamored for in the years following removal.

The Welches, who had taken reservations in 1817, had lived near traditional Cherokees who had done the same, such as Catehee, Junaluska, and John Ax (Jurgelski 2004). After the removal, all of these were members of, or closely associated with, Welch's Town. This close association and the shared desire to govern themselves at the community level were major incentives for the Welch's actions.

How did social and economic pressures in the post-removal era affect the Welch's ideology of localism? Post-removal Cherokee County was, by federal act, supposedly free of those with Cherokee heritage. Yet there remained in the county over 500 Cherokees (Siler 1851). What pressures did the Welches feel to conform to a white ideal or to hide from view their association with Cherokees and Cherokee culture? Perhaps their wealth provided the necessary security to effectively ignore the racist sentiments growing in the area and the entire Southeast during the late antebellum era. Both documentary and archaeological data reveal the Welch plantation, outwardly at least, exhibited the hallmarks of a white plantation: as large farm complex, large-scale crop and livestock production, and several African American slaves. Inwardly, however, out of the gaze of white passersby on the Western Turnpike, the Welches supported another kind of economy and community. Within the house, visible only to family members and invited guests, the men of the house maintained the manufacture and use of traditional Cherokee items: hand-carved chlorite schist pipes. This is one of the most interesting aspects of the Welch assemblage: a prevalence of mass-produced, purchased items associated with women's activities and of handmade items associated with men's activities. This is borne out by the absence of items such as Qualla ceramics. This pattern suggests a gender-based differentiation in material culture within the Welch household. This symbolic amalgamation reveals an embrace and intermingling of race and gender under one roof and expressed in material culture at a

time of intense racism. It reveals a greater understanding and rejection of contemporary racial and gender stereotypes, not as political or ethical statement, but to further their own goals and desires.

The Welches consciously manipulated the liminal world in which they lived. Standard definitions of race, ethnicity, and gender were, wherever possible, subverted or metamorphosed into a more usable form. In the post-removal environment inhabited by the Welches, the "inferior race" of one was used to elevate the gender of another. Betty's power, as a married woman, was only enabled by the non-citizen status of her husband and the deft timing of their legal transactions. At specific points in time, she became the owner of chattel property, then real property, and finally legal representative and attorney. Although suffering great losses, they managed to maintain what was most important to them: their farm and local community.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

The Southern Indian removals were dramatic and pivotal events during the early federal period of the United States. As one author stated, the "Indian problem" was also the "white American problem" (McLoughlin 1990:4) and therefore investigating the events and aftermath of the Cherokee removal clarifies the growth of American nationalism. Indian removal was not an isolated issue, but tied to other major trends of the 1830s. This decade witnessed immense changes in the politics, economy, and demography of the United States. An influx of European immigrants and the expansion of African American slavery sped westward expansion and capitalist growth. The Cherokees and other Southern tribes were not immune to these events or to the effects of Jacksonian democracy. Southern history was not black and white, but a complex nexus of racial and ethnic identities that were constantly being reformulated.

More than 1,000 Cherokees remained in North Carolina during the three decades following removal, a transitional period in which they maintained no formal tribal government and no clear citizenship (Finger 1984). While this marginalization challenged them in many ways, it also provided opportunities to evade governmental, business, and social prejudices. Cherokee enclaves reestablished traditional towns with the assistance of wealthy Cherokee or white patrons. The members of Welch's Town and the Welch family were interdependent for social and economic support in the racialized climate of the antebellum South. The Welch strategy included demonstrating outwardly their participation in modern western life styles, but within the boundaries of their farm maintaining a space for the continuation of traditional Cherokee social practices. Members of Welch's Town felt secure enough to reestablish a townhouse, stickball fields, and dance grounds. In this sense patronage

and other forms of negotiation and resistance succeeded in allowing the Cherokees to remain in their homeland and maintain a Cherokee identity.

Until the Cherokee removal of 1838, and even for a few years following the event, the region of southwestern North Carolina that corresponded to the Aquohee district of the old Cherokee Nation maintained some aspects of the "middle ground" (White 1991), a border between two racial, ethnic, and political entities. It was identified as such by people on both sides of the boundary, and many fled there to take advantage of its marginal status. Several Cherokee communities had lived along the border, on both sides of the Little Tennessee River, since 1817. Within these communities, popular perception lost some of its power: race was a fluid concept. Hardened racial hierarchies were rejected; more important was a person's views on self determination. Many of the Cherokee families who settled in this area in 1817 were forced back into the Cherokee Nation by white settlers. Twenty years later, faced with the prospect of being forced west, they chose to flee. After the army withdrawal in the winter of 1838, they conspired with local landowners, Cherokee and white, to reestablish their communities. The population of white farmers in the area grew in the succeeding years, but these towns, located in isolated settings, maintained local societies as best they could. Although mindful of popular racial perceptions, they still focused on town membership and adherence to a community ethos as the most important criteria for judging people. As inhabitants of the antebellum South, however, these perceptions changed. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, North Carolina Cherokees increasingly incorporated the racial hierarchy into their world view.

Gender roles were also undergoing radical constructions; Betty Welch represents an unusual case of the failure of the cult of domesticity. The negation of *femme covert* for two decades prior to the Civil War is one of the most radical parts of the story, and was made feasible only by Betty's marriage to a non-white man, which was in itself another negation of a supposedly inviolable social contract. John Welch's imprisonment and blindness forced Betty to take on the role of head of household, usually reserved for men, in addition to that of housekeeper. In this position she wielded extensive political and economic power. She was not the only one. Nancy Hawkins, a single Cherokee mother,

owned and operated a farm and controlled extensive wealth. The ability of these, and other women, to reject western gender roles, was based both in the contrasting view of women's roles in Cherokee culture and in the liminality of that place and time.

The perspectives of the members of Welch's Town on their own identity were guided by a tenacious grasp on the traditional Cherokee belief in town-level governance, in which a larger body politic had no authority to police or coerce members. The leaders of Welch's Town — John Owl, John Axe, and Junaluska — had come of age prior to the development of a Cherokee nation-state. Within this setting, particularly in the Valley Towns of southwestern North Carolina, localism, town-level governance, and clan-derived social structures, continued to serve as core behavioral controls. These three leaders and many others had been citizen reservees, and had abandoned the Cherokee Nation in 1819 to establish their own communities, constructed on the old villages and "mother towns" along the Little Tennessee River (Jurgelski 2004). Along with the maintenance of a traditional town, the members of Welch's Town also maintained other core elements of traditional Cherokee society; community ethos, corporate responsibility, and subsistence-level farming were mainstays in the rejection of western society.

The perspectives of the members of the Welch family are more difficult to discern. They too threw off the constricting mantle of national government. They had taken reservations in 1819, part of a community resettled on the old town site of Cowee, (Jurgelski 2004; Riggs 1988). In 1838, they aided hundreds of Cherokees on the run, and, afterwards, helped these refugees reestablish a traditional community on their own land. However, the Welches openly embraced certain aspects of western culture, particularly surplus agricultural production and slave ownership, for the personal accumulation of wealth. How did the Welches embrace the market economy and financial wealth, but maintain the close association and trust of a traditional Cherokee community? Is this seeming paradox discernible in the archaeological record? How did the Welches view the tenets of the traditional community ethos? Is their view the cause for the absence of Qualla series ceramic sherds in the Welch assemblage?

The archaeological assemblage recovered from the Welch site is significant not only for its quantity and variety of goods, but also because of the unique status of the family and the massive body of primary documents relating to them. Cherokee ethnicity is represented by a variety of hand-carved stone items. The most unambiguous are a small, chlorite-schist pipe and several pipe fragments. The pipe exhibits a traditional Cherokee form, and it and all of the pipe fragments were carved from locally available cobbles. Even without the documentary evidence pertaining to the Welches, the pipe would strongly suggest the house was occupied by Cherokees. In contrast, the prevalence of ceramic whitewares represents the acceptance of western modes of dining.

Race is the most difficult of these factors to assess archaeologically. Theoretically and practically, the link between race and material culture is context-specific. In this study, the Welches and the members of Welch's Town focused, internally at least, more on political ideology than on race. However, one aspect of race is discernible, or at least must be central in any discussion of these people: all of the Cherokees in southwestern North Carolina after removal were subject to the mainstream racist ideologies that were intensifying during the antebellum era. This fact was obviously apparent to the Cherokees (and to the Welch slaves), and therefore affected the choices they made. In addition to considering the effects of racist ideology of the period, we also have information regarding the racial background of the Welch family and the members of Welch's Town. The majority of these two groups were Cherokee. The army identified all of the members of Welch's Town as "fullblood" and most of the Welches as "métis." The only exceptions were Betty Welch and John Powell, who were identified as white. How did this affect the interactions within and between these two communities? The archaeological and documentary data suggest that Betty Welch and John Powell dealt with external affairs after the removal. Alternatively, it seems that John Welch, at least after removal, focused more on relationships within these two communities. This realignment on the part of John Welch was motivated by his treatment at the hands of the American army in the fall of 1838. Perhaps his blindness and general ill health resulted in his inability to travel or to conduct business. Or it may have stemmed from a subsequent hatred or distrust of people outside his

community and an embrace of people he knew and trusted. If this is the case, the presence of hand-carved pipes may reflect a renewed devotion to traditional Cherokee culture. Certainly, for those Cherokees who survived removal and remained in North Carolina, being "Indian" gained new meaning.

The impact of gender roles is visible and central to the interpretations of the Welch site assemblage. Most apparent is that "women's activities" items were all mass-produced, while most of the "men's activities" items were hand made. It may be that John and Betty consciously constructed an amalgamation of two disparate ideals: community ethos, corporate responsibility, and economic equity versus the Protestant Work Ethic, individualism, and personal wealth accumulation. This pattern in the assemblage may also reflect the different spheres of exchange within which each participated: Betty dealing with government agents and local business elites, and John with his family and Cherokees from Welch's Town. Perhaps this phenomenon was the case with other "mixed marriages" such as Gideon Morris and Rebecca Katahee. Archaeological investigations at the home of the latter would be instructive; Gideon was a white man and Rebecca (Junaluska's sister) a Cherokee woman from a very traditional family. Would their assemblage contain Qualla pottery and mass-produced kaolin pipes?

While the Welch artifact assemblage certainly contains a variety of items associated with western lifestyle and practice, there is little evidence that the inhabitants were wealthy. Although the Welches were among the wealthiest families in the region in 1850, their architecture, clothing, and household items do not reflect this fact. Did the refusal to exhibit wealth originate from the Cherokee community ethos? Does the archaeological assemblage illustrate that the Welches, although shunning some aspects of the ethic, embraced parts of it? Or does the Welch's utilitarian material culture reflect an ideal in which cash was viewed as a hedge against economic troubles, and hoarded for security? The latter was a common view for white farmers in the southern Appalachians, rich and poor alike. From the perspective of class, what would the assemblage from a Welch's Town house look like? As far as the documentary records indicate, these families embraced all aspects of Cherokee social

tradition. If so, what kinds of mass-produced goods did they acquire? If such a site contains imported whitewares, would it represent an acceptance of western dining practices and ideals, or merely that the plates were inexpensive and that it was easier to purchase them than to produce similar vessels by hand? Obviously, class and ethnicity are factors that are closely linked.

In what ways were these issues addressed by the Welches? Did John and Betty Welch talk about them openly? Was the manufacture or purchase of everyday items used in and around the house consciously considered? Such questions warrant further investigations at these kinds of sites; such work would provide answers to these questions and insight into the daily materiality of the Cherokees during the mid nineteenth century. They would also represent unparalleled cases for the construction and testing of methods of analyses and interpretation on historic archaeological sites. Such investigations, given the proper archaeological and documentary data, can provide significant methodological insight into the investigation and corroboration of these two kinds of data, as well as insight into archaeological and anthropological theories on the survival and identity maintenance of marginalized groups.

Materiality, while providing evidentiary constraints, also provides a clear gaze into the daily lives of those investigated. While some of the theoretical questions asked of the data have not yet been answered, the material culture recovered from the Welch house site tells us how they lived: what they ate and ate with, what they wore, how they presented themselves. These details provide an intimacy that goes beyond the documents, enabling an understanding of their lives in relation to others and to how they saw themselves.

Appendix A. Ceramic inventory

Feat	Half	Lvl	Ware	form	segment	decoration	color	comments
3	N	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
3	N	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
3	N	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
3	N	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
3	N	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
3	N	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
3	N	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	hand painted	green	
3	N	1	whiteware	gravy boat	base	annular	black	
3	N	1	whiteware	bowl	rim	undecorated		compound bowl form
3	N	1	whiteware	bowl	rim	undecorated		
3	N	1	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
3	N	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
3	N	1	stoneware	unidentified	body	undecorated		alkaline glazed
3	N	1	stoneware	unidentified	body	undecorated		alkaline glazed
3	N	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
3	N	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
3	N	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
3	N	2	pearlware	plate	body	dipped	green	burned; solid green exterior
4	E	1	whiteware	cup	rim	transfer print	light blue	
4	E	1	whiteware	cup	body	transfer print	light blue	
4	E	1	whiteware	bowl	rim	annular	red	annular band on interior
4	E	1	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
4	E	1	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
4	E	1	ironstone	pitcher	handle	undecorated		
4	E	1	yellow ware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
3	N	3	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	scalloped rim
3	N	3	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	scalloped rim
3	N	3	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
3	N	3	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
3	N	3	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
3	N	3	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
3	N	3	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
3	N	3	whiteware	bowl	rim	transfer print	purple	

Appendix A. Ceramic inventory

Feat	Half	Lvl	Ware	form	segment	decoration	color	comments
3	N	3	whiteware	bowl	body	transfer print	purple	landscape w/floral interior and exterior
3	N	3	whiteware	bowl	body	transfer print	purple	
3	N	3	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	green	gizzard stone
3	N	3	whiteware	bowl	body	transfer print	red	decorated interior and exterior
3	N	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	sponge	blue	sponged interior
3	N	3	whiteware	saucer	rim	undecorated		
3	N	3	whiteware	saucer	rim	undecorated		
3	N	3	ironstone	plate	rim	undecorated		
3	N	3	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
3	N	3	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		
3	N	3	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		
3	N	3	whiteware	unidentified	base	undecorated		
3	N	3	whiteware	unidentified	base	undecorated		
3	N	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
3	N	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		burned
3	N	3	ironstone	unidentified	base	undecorated		burned
3	N	3	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		vertical wall
3	N	3	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		vertical wall
3	N	3	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		vertical wall
3	N	3	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		vertical wall
3	N	3	stoneware	jar	body	undecorated		
3	N	3	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		vertical wall
4	E	1	stoneware	unidentified	base	undecorated		
4	W	1	whiteware	saucer	base	transfer print	black	
4	W	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	annular	brown	
4	W	1	whiteware	unidentified	base	undecorated		
4	W	1	whiteware	unidentified	base	undecorated		
4	W	1	whiteware	unidentified	base	undecorated		burned; foot ring
4	W	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	W	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	W	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	W	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		burned

Appendix A. Ceramic inventory

Feat	Half	Lvl	Ware	form	segment	decoration	color	comments
4	W	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	W	1	yellow ware	unidentified	body	undecorated		porous, irregular paste
4	W	1	stoneware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	W	1	stoneware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	W	1	stoneware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	W	1	stoneware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	W	1	stoneware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	W	1	stoneware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
3	S	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
3	S	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
3	S	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
3	S	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
3	S	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
3	S	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
3	S	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	green	scalloped rim
3	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	dipped/trailed	brown/blue	
3	S	1	whiteware	mug	rim	hand painted annular	green/red	
3	S	1	whiteware	plate	rim	sponge	red/green	
3	S	1	whiteware	plate/saucer	body	sponge	blue	
3	S	1	whiteware	gravy boat	rim/spout	annular	black	
3	S	1	whiteware	plate	base	transfer print	light blue	maker's mark "CA" or "GA"
3	S	1	whiteware	bowl	rim	undecorated		compound form
3	S	1	whiteware	bowl	rim	undecorated		
3	S	1	whiteware	bowl	rim	undecorated		
3	S	1	whiteware	bowl	rim	undecorated		
3	S	1	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
3	S	1	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
3	S	1	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
3	S	1	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		
3	S	1	whiteware	bowl	body	undecorated		compound form
3	S	1	whiteware	bowl	body	undecorated		compound form
3	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		

Appendix A. Ceramic inventory

Feat	Half	Lvl	Ware	form	segment	decoration	color	comments
3	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
3	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		gizzard stone, no glaze remaining
3	S	1	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		
3	S	1	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		
3	S	1	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		
3	S	1	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		
3	S	1	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge/dot	blue	
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge/dot	blue	
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge/dot	blue	
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge/dot	blue	
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge/dot	blue	
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge/dot	blue	
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge/dot	blue	
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	base	shell edge/dot	blue	
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	base	shell edge/dot	blue	
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	base	shell edge/dot	blue	
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	scalloped rim
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	unpainted	shell edge, no color
3	S	2	ironstone	platter	rim	shell edge	unpainted	square/rect. platter, shell edge, no color
3	S	2	ironstone	platter	rim	shell edge	unpainted	square/rect. platter, shell edge, no color
3	S	2	ironstone	platter	rim	shell edge	unpainted	square/rect. platter, shell edge, no color
3	S	2	whiteware	cup	rim	transfer print	light blue	
3	S	2	whiteware	bowl	rim	transfer print	red	cross hatch pattern interior and exterior
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	rim	transfer print	red	floral
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	body	transfer print	purple	floral
3	S	2	whiteware	bowl	rim	hand painted	red/green/black	
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	rim	sponge	red	
3	S	2	whiteware	plate/saucer	base	sponge	blue	

Appendix A. Ceramic inventory

Feat	Half	Lvl	Ware	form	segment	decoration	color	comments
3	S	2	whiteware	bowl	rim	undecorated		
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
3	S	2	whiteware	footed bowl	base	undecorated		foot ring
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	neck	shell edge	blue	
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	neck	shell edge	unpainted	
3	S	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
3	S	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
3	S	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
3	S	2	whiteware	plate	body	undecorated		burned
3	S	2	whiteware	plate/saucer	base	undecorated		
3	S	2	whiteware	plate/saucer	base	undecorated		
3	S	2	whiteware	plate/saucer	base	undecorated		
3	S	2	whiteware	plate/saucer	base	undecorated		
3	S	2	stoneware	jar	rim	undecorated		
3	S	2	stoneware	jar	rim	undecorated		
3	S	2	stoneware	jar	body	undecorated		
3	S	2	stoneware	jar	body	undecorated		two-line incising
3	S	2	stoneware	jar	body	undecorated		two-line incising
3	S	2	stoneware	jar	body	undecorated		
3	S	2	stoneware	jar	body	undecorated		
1	W	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
1	W	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	scalloped
1	W	1	whiteware	bowl	rim	transfer print	light blue	"TJ & J Mayer Longport"; romantic scene
1	W	1	whiteware	bowl	rim	transfer print	light blue	foot ring
1	W	1	whiteware	bowl	rim	transfer print	light blue	scalloped; classical scene
1	W	1	whiteware	unidentified	rim	transfer print	purple	
1	W	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	transfer print	purple	

Appendix A. Ceramic inventory

Feat	Half	Lvl	Ware	form	segment	decoration	color	comments
1	W	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	transfer print	purple	
1	W	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	transfer print	purple	
1	W	1	whiteware	saucer	rim	transfer print	green	
1	W	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	transfer print	black	
1	W	1	whiteware	plate	rim	sponge	red	
1	W	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	sponge	blue	
1	W	1	whiteware	saucer	rim	annular	black	
1	W	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	hand painted	green	
1	W	1	whiteware	bowl	rim	undecorated		faceted bowl
1	W	1	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
1	W	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
1	W	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		burned
1	W	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
1	W	1	stoneware	storage	rim	undecorated		vertical wall
1	W	1	stoneware	storage	handle	undecorated		lug handle
1	W	1	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		
1	W	1	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		
1	W	2	whiteware	bowl	rim	transfer print	blue	foot ring
1	W	2	whiteware	bowl	rim	transfer print	blue	
1	W	2	whiteware	bowl	rim	transfer print	blue	
1	W	2	whiteware	bowl	rim	transfer print	blue	
1	W	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	transfer print	blue	
1	W	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	transfer print	blue	
1	W	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	transfer print	blue	
1	W	2	whiteware	bowl	rim	transfer print	blue	landscape with classical structures
1	W	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	transfer print	blue	
1	W	2	whiteware	plate	rim	transfer print	purple	spiral design on interior, octagonal?
1	W	2	whiteware	plate	rim	sponge	red	
1	W	2	whiteware	plate	rim	sponge	red	
1	W	2	whiteware	plate	body	sponge	red/green	
1	W	2	whiteware	plate	base	sponge	green	
1	W	2	whiteware	cup	rim	hand painted annular	green/black	black interior band, green leaf
1	W	2	whiteware	plate	base	hand painted	black	foot ring; narrow black line

Appendix A. Ceramic inventory

Feat	Half	Lvl	Ware	form	segment	decoration	color	comments
1	W	2	whiteware	bowl	base	undecorated		foot ring; compound form
1	W	2	redware	bowl	base	luster glaze	red	foot ring; luster glaze exterior
1	W	2	whiteware	saucer	rim	undecorated		
1	W	2	whiteware	saucer	rim	undecorated		
1	W	2	whiteware	saucer	rim	undecorated		
1	W	2	whiteware	unidentified	foot ring	undecorated		broad foot ring fragment
1	W	2	whiteware	unidentified	base	undecorated		
1	W	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
1	W	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
1	W	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
1	W	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
1	W	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
1	W	2	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		
1	W	2	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		
1	W	2	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		
1	W	2	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		
1	W	2	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		
1	W	2	stoneware	storage	base	undecorated		very thick base
1	W	3	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
1	W	3	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	scalloped; solid blue band
1	W	3	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	scalloped
1	W	3	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
1	W	3	whiteware	cup	rim	transfer print	blue	
1	W	3	whiteware	unidentified	rim	transfer print	blue	
1	W	3	whiteware	unidentified	rim	transfer print	blue	
1	W	3	whiteware	unidentified	rim	transfer print	purple	spiral design on interior
1	W	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	hand painted	green/black	
1	W	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	hand painted	red/green/yellow	
1	W	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	hand painted	red	
1	W	3	whiteware	plate	rim	undecorated		
1	W	3	whiteware	saucer	rim	undecorated		
1	W	3	whiteware	saucer	rim	undecorated		

Appendix A. Ceramic inventory

Feat	Half	Lvl	Ware	form	segment	decoration	color	comments
1	W	3	whiteware	saucer	rim	undecorated		
1	W	3	whiteware	saucer	rim	undecorated		
1	W	3	whiteware	saucer	rim	undecorated		
1	W	3	whiteware	saucer	rim	undecorated		
1	W	3	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		
1	W	3	whiteware	unidentified	base	undecorated		
1	W	3	whiteware	sugar bowl	body	undecorated		faceted body
1	W	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
1	W	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
1	W	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
1	W	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
1	W	3	yellow ware	bowl	rim	undecorated		
1	W	3	stoneware	storage	rim	undecorated		
1	W	3	stoneware	storage	rim	undecorated		
1	W	3	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		
3	S	3	pearlware	unidentified	body	dipped	blue	
3	S	3	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
3	S	3	whiteware	unidentified	base	undecorated		
3	S	3	whiteware	sugar	body	undecorated		
3	S	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
3	S	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
3	S	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
3	S	3	ironstone	unidentified	base	undecorated		
1	W	4	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
1	W	4	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	scalloped; solid blue band
1	W	4	whiteware	bowl	rim	transfer print	purple	
1	W	4	whiteware	unidentified	body	transfer print	purple	
1	W	4	whiteware	cup	rim	hand painted annular	red/black	red floral, black band, stepped body, burned
1	W	4	whiteware	unidentified	body	hand painted	green/blue	
1	W	4	whiteware	unidentified	body	dipped/trailed	brown/black/blue	
1	W	4	whiteware	saucer	rim	undecorated		
1	W	4	whiteware	cup	rim	undecorated		

Appendix A. Ceramic inventory

Feat	Half	Lvl	Ware	form	segment	decoration	color	comments
1	W	4	whiteware	bowl	rim	undecorated		
1	W	4	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		
1	W	4	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		
1	W	4	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
1	W	4	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
1	W	4	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
1	W	4	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
1	W	4	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
1	W	4	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
1	E	1	whiteware	saucer	rim	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	body	shell edge	blue	
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	rim	embossed edge	blue	scalloped
4	S	1	whiteware	bowl	rim	transfer print	blue	
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	transfer print	black	
4	S	1	whiteware	saucer	rim	transfer print	green	
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	unpainted	
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	body	shell edge	unpainted	
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	rim	hand painted annular	blue/green/black	scalloped; black band
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	rim	hand painted annular	blue/green/black	scalloped; black band
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	rim	hand painted annular	red/green/black	scalloped; black band
4	S	1	whiteware	saucer	rim	hand painted annular	red/green	green band
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	rim	annular	green	thick green band
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	rim	annular	green	thick green band
4	S	1	whiteware	cup	body	hand painted annular	green/red	
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	hand painted	blue	
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	hand painted	blue	
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	rim	sponge	blue	
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	rim	sponge	blue	

Appendix A. Ceramic inventory

Feat	Half	Lvl	Ware	form	segment	decoration	color	comments
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	base	sponge	blue	
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	base	sponge	blue	
4	S	1	whiteware	saucer	body	sponge	blue	
4	S	1	whiteware	saucer	rim	undecorated		foot ring
4	S	1	whiteware	saucer	rim	undecorated		foot ring
4	S	1	whiteware	saucer	rim	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	rim	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	rim	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	rim	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	rim	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	rim	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	foot ring	undecorated		broad foot ring fragment
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring; burned
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
4	S	1	whiteware	saucer	base	undecorated		foot ring
4	S	1	whiteware	saucer	base	undecorated		foot ring
4	S	1	whiteware	saucer	base	undecorated		foot ring
4	S	1	whiteware	cup	base	undecorated		foot ring
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		base impressed "0"
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	body	undecorated		

Appendix A. Ceramic inventory

Feat	Half	Lvl	Ware	form	segment	decoration	color	comments
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	rim	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	plate	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	yellow ware	unidentified	base	undecorated		foot ring
4	S	1	stoneware	storage	base	undecorated		thick base
4	S	1	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		

Appendix A. Ceramic inventory

Feat	Half	Lvl	Ware	form	segment	decoration	color	comments
4	S	1	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		poor paste
4	S	1	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		
4	S	1	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		
1	E	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	burned
1	E	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	transfer print	light blue	
1	E	2	whiteware	cup	rim	hand painted annular	green/black	black band; green floral pattern
1	E	2	creamware	cup	body	hand painted	blue	dark blue floral pattern
1	E	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
1	E	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		burned
1	E	2	redware	unidentified	body	dipped/sprig molded	blue/brown	white sprig molding
1	E	2	stoneware	storage	rim	undecorated		
1	E	3	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
1	E	3	whiteware	plate	rim	embossed edge	blue	
1	E	3	whiteware	unidentified	rim	transfer print	light blue	
1	E	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	transfer print	blue	
1	E	3	whiteware	plate	rim	transfer print	purple	12-sided plate
1	E	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	transfer print	purple	
1	E	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	transfer print	purple	
1	E	3	whiteware	plate	base	hand painted	red/black/blue/green	
1	E	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	hand painted	black/green	
1	E	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	dipped	brown/green	brown background, green circle (cat's eye)
1	E	3	semiporcelain	cup	rim	undecorated		crazed glaze, gray homogeneous paste
1	E	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
1	E	3	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		
1	E	3	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		
1	E	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
1	E	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	S	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	scalloped
2	S	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
2	S	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
2	S	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	scalloped

[illegible]

Appendix A. Ceramic inventory

Feat	Half	Lvl	Ware	form	segment	decoration	color	comments
2	S	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	S	1	yellow ware	saucer	rim	undecorated		
2	S	1	stoneware	storage	rim	undecorated		lip of rolled rim is unglazed or worn off
2	S	1	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		poor paste
2	S	1	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		
2	S	2	whiteware	saucer	rim	undecorated		
2	S	2	whiteware	saucer	rim	undecorated		
2	S	2	whiteware	cup	rim	undecorated		
2	S	2	whiteware	cup	rim	undecorated		
2	S	2	whiteware	saucer	rim	undecorated		burned
2	S	2	whiteware	cup/bowl	rim	undecorated		
2	S	2	whiteware	cup/bowl	rim	undecorated		
2	S	2	whiteware	cup/bowl	rim	undecorated		
2	S	2	whiteware	cup/bowl	rim	undecorated		
2	S	2	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
2	S	2	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring; stamp "Longpo" (Longport)
2	S	2	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
2	S	2	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
2	S	2	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
2	S	2	whiteware	saucer/bowl	base	undecorated		foot ring
2	S	2	whiteware	saucer	base	undecorated		foot ring
2	S	2	whiteware	saucer	base	undecorated		foot ring
2	S	2	whiteware	saucer	base	undecorated		foot ring
2	S	2	whiteware	saucer	base	undecorated		foot ring
2	S	2	whiteware	saucer	base	undecorated		foot ring
2	S	2	whiteware	saucer	base	undecorated		foot ring
2	S	2	whiteware	saucer/bowl	base	undecorated		foot ring
2	S	2	whiteware	saucer/bowl	base	undecorated		foot ring; burned
2	S	2	whiteware	saucer	base	undecorated		foot ring
2	S	2	whiteware	saucer	base	undecorated		foot ring
2	S	2	whiteware	bowl	base	undecorated		foot ring
2	S	2	whiteware	bowl	base	undecorated		foot ring
2	S	2	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
2	S	2	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
2	S	2	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring

Appendix A. Ceramic inventory

Feat	Half	Lvl	Ware	form	segment	decoration	color	comments
2	S	2	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
2	S	2	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
2	S	2	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
2	S	2	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
2	S	2	creamware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
2	S	2	creamware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
2	S	2	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		
2	S	2	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		
2	S	2	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		
2	S	2	whiteware	plate	body	undecorated		
2	S	2	whiteware	plate	body	undecorated		
2	S	2	whiteware	plate	body	undecorated		burned
2	S	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	S	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	S	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	S	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	S	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	S	2	whiteware	plate	body	undecorated		
2	S	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	S	2	whiteware	cup	body	undecorated		
2	S	2	whiteware	cup	body	undecorated		
2	S	2	whiteware	cup	body	undecorated		
2	S	2	whiteware	sugar bowl	body	undecorated		faceted body
2	S	2	whiteware	sugar bowl	body	undecorated		faceted body
2	S	2	whiteware	pitcher	handle	undecorated		thick lug handle fragment
2	S	2	creamware	soup plate	body	undecorated		
2	S	2	creamware	soup plate	body	undecorated		
2	S	2	creamware	soup plate	body	undecorated		
2	S	2	stoneware	storage	base	undecorated		
2	S	2	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		
1	E	4	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	

Appendix A. Ceramic inventory

Feat	Half	Lvl	Ware	form	segment	decoration	color	comments
1	E	4	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	scalloped
1	E	4	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
1	E	4	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	scalloped
1	E	4	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	scalloped
1	E	4	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	scalloped
1	E	4	whiteware	plate	rim	hand painted	green/purple	floral pattern
1	E	4	whiteware	cup	rim	hand painted	blue/red/black/green	black band on exterior; floral pattern
1	E	4	whiteware	saucer	rim	hand painted	red/black	black band on interior; floral pattern
1	E	4	whiteware	saucer	rim	hand painted	green/black	black band on lip
1	E	4	whiteware	bowl	rim	hand painted	purple/green/black	black band on lip
1	E	4	whiteware	unidentified	body	dipped	dark blue/light blue	
1	E	4	whiteware	saucer	rim	undecorated		
1	E	4	whiteware	bowl	rim	undecorated		
1	E	4	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		
1	E	4	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		
1	E	4	whiteware	unidentified	base	undecorated		
1	E	4	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
1	E	4	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
1	E	4	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
1	E	4	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
1	E	4	creamware	plate	body	undecorated		
1	E	4	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		incised line
2	S	3	pearlware	plate	rim	embossed edge	blue	scalloped; "bud" pattern
2	S	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	transfer print	blue	
2	S	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	hand painted	green/black	floral pattern
2	S	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	hand painted	green	
2	S	3	whiteware	unidentified	base	undecorated		
2	S	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	S	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	S	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	S	3	creamware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	N	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
2	N	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	

Appendix A. Ceramic inventory

Feat	Half	Lvl	Ware	form	segment	decoration	color	comments
2	N	1	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	scalloped
2	N	1	whiteware	cup	base	transfer print	blue	foot ring; romantic scene
2	N	1	whiteware	cup	rim	transfer print	purple	animal scene (lion?)
2	N	1	whiteware	cup	rim	transfer print	light blue	
2	N	1	whiteware	saucer	rim	sponge	blue	
2	N	1	whiteware	saucer	rim	sponge	blue	
2	N	1	whiteware	saucer	rim	sponge	blue	
2	N	1	whiteware	saucer	base	sponge	blue	foot ring
2	N	1	whiteware	saucer	base	sponge	blue	foot ring
2	N	1	whiteware	saucer	base	sponge	blue	foot ring
2	N	1	whiteware	bowl	rim	annular	red	one band interior, two bands exterior
2	N	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	dipped/trailed	black/brown	
2	N	1	whiteware	cup	rim	undecorated		
2	N	1	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		foot ring
2	N	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	N	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	N	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	N	1	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	N	1	redware	storage	rim	dipped	blue/brown	blue dipped ext. w/ brown rim
2	N	1	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		
2	N	1	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		
2	N	1	stoneware	storage	body	undecorated		poor paste
2	N	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
2	N	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
2	N	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
2	N	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
2	N	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	scalloped
2	N	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	
2	N	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	scalloped
2	N	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	scalloped
2	N	2	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	scalloped

Appendix A. Ceramic inventory

Feat	Half	Lvl	Ware	form	segment	decoration	color	comments
2	N	2	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		
2	N	2	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		
2	N	2	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		edges modified?
2	N	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		burned
2	N	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	N	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	N	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	N	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	N	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	N	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	N	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	N	2	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	N	2	stoneware	unidentified	body	undecorated		unglazed interior
2	N	2	stoneware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	N	2	stoneware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	N	2	stoneware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	N	3	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	scalloped; solid blue line; no impressions
2	N	3	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	scalloped; solid blue line
2	N	3	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	scalloped; solid blue line; no impressions
2	N	3	whiteware	plate	rim	shell edge	blue	scalloped; impressed "bud" pattern
2	N	3	whiteware	plate	rim	embossed edge	blue	raised dots along rim
2	N	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	transfer print	black	
2	N	3	whiteware	bowl	body	transfer print	red	
2	N	3	whiteware	unidentified	rim	hand painted	blue	broad floral pattern
2	N	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	hand painted	blue	broad floral pattern
2	N	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	hand painted	blue	
2	N	3	whiteware	unidentified	base	hand painted	blue	
2	N	3	whiteware	cup	body	hand painted	green	
2	N	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	hand painted	red	
2	N	3	whiteware	unidentified	rim	hand painted annular	green/black	black line, green floral
2	N	3	whiteware	unidentified	rim	annular	black	black line on interior and exterior

Appendix A. Ceramic inventory

Feat	Half	Lvl	Ware	form	segment	decoration	color	comments
2	N	3	whiteware	gravy boat	rim	annular	black	black line on exterior
2	N	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	annular	blue/brown	blue line and brown line
2	N	3	whiteware	plate	base	undecorated		
2	N	3	whiteware	plate	body	undecorated		slight discoloration
2	N	3	whiteware	plate	body	undecorated		slight discoloration
2	N	3	whiteware	cup	body	undecorated		
2	N	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	N	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	N	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	N	3	whiteware	unidentified	body	undecorated		
2	N	3	redware	unidentified	body	hand painted	green	floral pattern; burned
2	N	3	redware	unidentified	body	undecorated		red glazed interior and exterior
2	N	3	stoneware	storage	handle	undecorated		thick lug handle fragment
2	N	2	stoneware	storage	rim/body	undecorated		churn w/ strap handle

Appendix B. Inventory of floral remains (source: Cuthrell 2005)

common name	taxonomic name	raw count	Standardized ct.	standardized %
Native Taxa				
<u>Grains</u>				
maize kernel	<i>Zea mays</i>	1637	999.08	31.04
maize cupule	<i>Zea mays</i>	853	520.60	16.17
maize cob	<i>Zea mays</i>	95	57.98	1.80
<u>Fruits</u>				
blueberry	<i>Vaccinium</i> sp.	3	1.83	0.06
elderberry	<i>Sambucus</i> sp.	64	37.23	1.16
bramble	<i>Rubus</i> sp.	9	5.49	0.17
plum	<i>Prunus</i> sp.	2	1.22	0.04
grape	<i>Vitis</i> sp.	37	22.58	0.70
mulberry	<i>Morus</i> sp.	10	6.10	0.19
cf seed/flesh/skin	unidentifiable	3	2.00	0.06
ground cherry	<i>Physalis</i> sp.	9	5.49	0.17
nightshade	<i>Solanum</i> sp.	17	10.38	0.32
groundcherry/nightshade	<i>Physalis/Solanum</i>	8	4.88	0.15
sumac	<i>Rhus</i> sp.	1	0.61	0.02
<u>Nuts</u>				
hazelnut shell	<i>Corylus</i> sp.	42	25.63	0.80
chestnut shell	<i>Castanea</i> sp.	73	44.55	1.38
chestnut meat	<i>Castanea</i> sp.	3	1.83	0.06
cf chestnut shell	<i>Castanea</i> sp.	1	0.61	0.02
hickory shell	<i>Carya</i> sp.	10	6.10	0.19
<u>Squash</u>				
squash rind	<i>Cucurbita</i> sp.	8	4.88	0.15
squash seed	<i>Cucurbita</i> sp.	3	1.83	0.06
cf squash seed	<i>Cucurbita</i> sp.	1	0.61	0.02
squash (leather?)	<i>Cucurbitaceae</i> ?	25	15.26	0.47
cucurbit seed	<i>Cucurbitaceae</i>	4	2.44	0.08

continued

Appendix B. Inventory of floral remains (source: Cuthrell 2005)

common name	taxonomic name	raw count	standardized ct.	standardized %
<u>Legumes</u>				
common bean	Phaseolus sp.	17	10.38	0.32
cf common bean	Phaseolus sp.	2	1.22	0.04
legume pod	Fabaceae	2	1.22	0.04
cf legume pod	Fabaceae	3	1.83	0.06
legume	Fabaceae	1	0.61	0.02
honey locust	Gleditsia triacanthos	4	2.44	0.08
<u>Greens</u>				
amaranth	Amaranthus sp.	166	101.31	3.15
carpetweed	Mollugo vertillicata	19	11.60	0.36
chenopod	chenopodium sp.	11	6.71	0.21
chenopodium/amaranth	chenopodium/amaranthus	5	3.05	0.09
poke	Phytolacca americana	8	4.88	0.15
purslane	Portulaca sp.	7	4.27	0.13
<u>other food</u>				
sunflower seed	Helianthus sp.	3	1.83	0.06
<u>ritual botanicals</u>				
cf datura	Datura sp.	2	1.22	0.04
tobacco seed	Nicotiana tobacum	36	21.97	0.68
<u>Weeds</u>				
bromus	Bromus sp.	16	10.00	0.31
copperleaf	Acalypha sp.	3	1.83	0.06
goosegrass	Eleusine indica	48	29.30	0.91
grass seeds (indet.)	unidentifiable	289	176.38	5.48
mint family	Labiatae	3	1.83	0.06
pink family	Caryophyllaceae	1	0.61	0.02
pepperweed	Lepidium sp.	1	0.61	0.02
evening primrose	Oenothera sp.	6	3.66	0.11
bulrush	Scirpus sp.	201	122.67	3.81
catchfly	Silene sp.	4	2.44	0.08
smartweed	Polygonum sp.	1	0.61	0.02
spurge	Euphorbia sp.	1	0.61	0.02
spurge/euphorbia	Euphorbia sp.	1	0.61	0.02
verbena	Verbena sp.	2	1.22	0.04

continued

Appendix B. Inventory of floral remains (source: Cuthrell 2005)

common name	taxonomic name	raw count	standardized ct.	standardized %
<u>other</u>				
cf carbonized wood	unidentifiable	1	0.61	0.02
stems	unidentifiable	51	31.13	0.97
fruit stems	unidentifiable	3	1.83	0.06
unidentifiable seeds	unidentifiable	13	7.93	0.25
Native Taxa		3849	2347.67	72.94
Non-Native Taxa				
<u>grains</u>				
wheat	Triticum aestivum	149	90.94	2.83
oats	Avena sativa	17	10.83	0.32
rye	Secale cereale	623	380.23	11.81
rice	Oryza sp.	9	3.05	0.09
cf rice	Oryza sp.	3	1.83	0.06
cereal (indet.)	Poaceae	557	339.95	10.56
cereal chaff (indet.)	Poaceae	26	15.87	0.49
<u>other</u>				
peanut	Arachis hypogaea	2	1.22	0.04
pea	Pisum sp.	3	1.83	0.06
peach	Prunus persica	3	1.83	0.06
cf peach	Prunus persica	1	0.61	0.02
watermelon	Citrullus vulgaris	1	0.61	0.02
cf melon	Cucurbitaceae	38	23.19	0.72
coffee bean	Coffea arabica	1	0.61	0.02
cf coffee bean	Coffea arabica	1	0.61	0.02
Non-Native Taxa		1434	869.70	27.02
Total		5283	3217.37	100.00

Appendix C. Inventory of faunal remains.

Feat	Half	Level	Taxon	common name	Element	Portion	Side	Age	Alteration	Fracture	n=
3	S	3	<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	turkey	ulna	whole	r	subadult	none	-	1
3	S	3	<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	turkey	tibiotarsus	whole	l	subadult	none	-	1
3	S	3	<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	turkey	fibula	proximal	l	subadult	none	-	1
3	S	3	<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	turkey	tarsometatarsus	distal	l	subadult	none	-	1
3	S	3	<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	turkey	middle phalanx	whole	-	-	none	-	1
3	S	3	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	fibula	whole	l	subadult	none	-	1
3	S	3	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	metatarsal	whole	-	subadult	none	-	2
3	S	3	large mammal		rib	shaft	-	-	none	-	4
3	S	3	large mammal		vert. epiphysis	fragment	-	subadult	none	-	1
3	S	3	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	2
3	N	2	<i>O. virginianus</i>	white-tailed deer	calcaneus	whole	r	subadult	dog chewed	-	1
3	N	3	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	ulna	proximal	l	subadult	none	-	1
3	N	3	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	ulna	distal	l	subadult	none	-	1
3	N	3	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	tarsometatarsus	distal	l	subadult	none	-	2
3	N	3	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	tarsometatarsus	distal	r	subadult	none	-	1
3	N	3	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	tarsometatarsus	proximal	r	subadult	none	-	1
3	N	3	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	tarsometatarsus	proximal	l	subadult	none	-	1
3	N	3	large bird		tarsometatarsus	proximal	r	adult	none	-	1
3	N	3	<i>Procyon lotor</i>	raccoon	innominate	acetabulum	l	adult	dog chewed	-	1
3	N	3	<i>Procyon lotor</i>	raccoon	ulna	proximal	r	adult	none	-	1
3	N	3	<i>Procyon lotor</i>	raccoon	ulna	distal	r	adult	cut marks	-	1
3	N	3	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	mand. M3	whole	r	adult	none	-	1
3	N	3	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	rib	shaft	-	-	none	-	4
3	N	3	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	vertebra	articular	-	-	none	-	1
3	N	3	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	mandible	P4-M2	r	adult	none	-	1
3	N	3	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	hum. epiph. prox.	whole	l	subadult	none	-	1
3	N	3	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	metatars epiph. dist.	whole	-	subadult	none	-	1
3	N	3	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	distal phalanx	whole	-	subadult	none	-	1
3	N	3	<i>O. virginianus</i>	white-tailed deer	scapula	blade	r	-	none	-	1
3	N	3	<i>O. virginianus</i>	white-tailed deer	scapula	inferior	r	-	none	-	1
3	N	3	<i>O. virginianus</i>	white-tailed deer	rib	neck	-	-	none	-	1
3	N	3	large mammal		long bone	shaft	-	-	none	perimortem	1
3	N	3	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	9
3	N	3	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	2

Appendix C. Inventory of faunal remains.

Feat	Half	Level	Taxon	common name	Element	Portion	Side	Age	Alteration	Fracture	n=
3	N	3	small mammal		cranial	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
3	N	2	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	mandible	M2-M3	r	-	none	-	1
3	N	2	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	thoracic vertebra	neural	-	-	none	-	1
3	N	2	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	rib	shaft	-	-	none	-	1
3	S	2	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	rib	shaft	-	-	none	-	1
3	S	2	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	radius	shaft	l	subadult	sawn	perimortem	1
3	S	2	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	max. P3	whole	r	adult	none	-	1
3	S	2	<i>O. virginianus</i>	white-tailed deer	max. P2	whole	l	adult	none	-	1
3	S	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	metacarpal	whole	-	subadult	none	-	1
3	S	2	large mammal		costal cartilage	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
3	S	2	large mammal		rib	shaft	-	-	none	-	9
3	S	2	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	sawn	-	1
3	S	2	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	7
3	S	2	<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	turkey	tibiotarsus	shaft	-	-	none	-	1
3	S	2	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	tarsometatarsus	distal	l	subadult	none	-	1
3	S	2	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	tarsometatarsus	whole	r	subadult	none	-	1
3	S	2	large bird		long bone	shaft	-	-	none	-	1
3	N	2	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	rib	shaft	-	-	none	-	9
3	N	2	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	costal cartilage	shaft	-	-	none	-	7
3	N	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	max. M1	crown	r	adult	none	-	1
3	N	2	large mammal		long bone	shaft	-	-	none	perimortem	2
3	N	2	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	perimortem	3
3	N	2	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	tibiotarsus	distal	l	adult	none	-	1
3	N	3	<i>O. virginianus</i>	white-tailed deer	antler	tine	-	adult	tool handle	-	1
3	N	3	Galliformes		ossified tendon	fragment	-	-	bipointed	-	1
3	N	3	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	ulna	shaft	l	subadult	none	-	1
3	N	3	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	radius	shaft	l	subadult	none	-	1
3	N	3	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	phalanx	whole	-	-	none	-	8
3	N	3	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	vertebra	whole	-	-	none	-	1
3	N	3	large bird		long bone	shaft	-	-	none	-	3
3	N	3	large bird		flat bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
3	N	3	<i>Micropterus salmoides</i>	largemouth bass	parasphenoid	whole	-	adult	none	-	1
3	N	1	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	canine	enamel	-	-	none	-	1
3	N	1	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1

Appendix C. Inventory of faunal remains.

Feat	Half	Level	Taxon	common name	Element	Portion	Side	Age	Alteration	Fracture	n=
3	N	1	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	tibiotarsus	proximal	l	adult	none	-	1
3	N	1	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	maxilla	M3	r	subadult	none	-	1
3	N	1	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	thoracic vertebra	neural	-	-	none	-	1
3	N	1	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	rib	shaft	-	-	none	-	1
3	N	1	large mammal		long bone	shaft	-	-	none	perimortem	4
3	N	1	<i>Procyon lotor</i>	raccoon	radius	whole	r	adult	distal cut	-	1
3	N	2&3	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	rib	neck	-	-	none	-	1
3	N	2&3	large mammal		long bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	2
3	S	1	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	mandible	coronoid	l	subadult	chopped	-	1
3	S	1	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	astragalus	whole	l	-	cut marks	-	1
3	S	1	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	mand. M3	whole	r	subadult	none	-	1
3	S	1	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	max. P4	whole	r	adult	none	-	1
3	S	1	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	decid. cheek tooth	crown	-	infant	none	-	2
3	S	1	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	tooth	enamel	-	-	none	-	2
3	S	1	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	calcaneus	malleolar	l	subadult	none	-	1
3	S	1	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	rib	neck	-	subadult	none	-	2
3	S	1	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	chiseled	perimortem	1
3	S	1	large mammal		long bone	shaft	-	-	none	perimortem	1
3	S	1	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	13
3	S	1	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
3	S	1	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	9
3	S	1	<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	turkey	ulna	distal	l	subadult	none	-	1
3	S	1	<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	turkey	carpometacarpus	shaft	l	subadult	none	-	1
3	S	1	<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	turkey	alar phalanx 2	whole	r	-	none	-	1
3	S	1	large bird		long bone	shaft	-	-	none	-	5
3	S	1	large bird		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
3	S	1	large bird		phalanx	whole	-	subadult	none	-	1
3	S	1	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	rib	neck	-	subadult	none	-	2
3	S	1	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	15
3	S	1	<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	turkey	alar phalanx 1	whole	r	subadult	none	-	1
3	S	1	<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	turkey	alar phalanx 2	proximal	l	subadult	none	-	1
3	S	1	<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	turkey	alar digit 3	whole	l	subadult	none	-	1
3	S	1	<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	turkey	cuneiform	whole	r	subadult	none	-	1
3	S	1	<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	turkey	radius	distal	l	subadult	none	-	1

Appendix C. Inventory of faunal remains.

Feat	Half	Level	Taxon	common name	Element	Portion	Side	Age	Alteration	Fracture	n=
3	S	1	<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	turkey	carpometacarpus	proximal	l	subadult	none	-	1
3	S	1	<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	turkey	radius	shaft	l	subadult	none	-	1
3	S	1	large bird		long bone	shaft	-	-	none	-	3
3	S	1	large bird		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	3
3	S	1	vertebrate		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	7
3	S	1	vertebrate		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
3	S	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	maxilla	P4-M2	r	adult	none	-	1
3	S	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	deciduous max. M3	crown	l	subadult	none	-	1
3	S	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	mand. P2	whole	l	adult	none	-	1
3	S	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	max. M1	whole	l	subadult	none	-	1
3	S	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	rib	blade	-	-	cut marks	-	1
3	S	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	rib	distal	-	-	none	-	1
3	S	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	rib	blade	-	-	none	-	1
3	S	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	lumbar vertebra	articular	-	-	none	-	1
3	S	2	large mammal		long bone	shaft	-	-	chopped	perimortem	1
3	S	2	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	8
3	S	2	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	cut marks	-	2
3	S	2	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	tarsometatarsus	whole	l	adult	none	-	1
3	S	2	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	tarsometatarsus	proximal	l	adult	none	-	1
3	S	2	large bird		egg	shell	-	-	none	-	6
3	S	2	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	phalanx	whole	-	subadult	none	-	6
3	S	2	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	tarsometatarsus	distal	-	subadult	none	-	1
3	S	2	large bird		ossified tendon	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
3	S	2	large bird		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
3	S	2	large bird		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
3	S	2	large mammal		rib	fragment	-	-	none	-	6
3	S	2	<i>Micropterus salmoides</i>	largemouth bass	basipterygium	whole	-	adult	none	-	1
3	S	2	Centrarchidae	sunfish/bass	scale	whole	-	adult	none	-	6
3	S	2	Osteichthyes		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
3	S	2	vertebrate		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	2
3	S	2	small mammal		rib	shaft	-	-	none	-	1
3	S	2	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	phalanx	whole	-	adult	none	-	1
3	S	2	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	phalanx	whole	-	subadult	none	-	1

Appendix C. Inventory of faunal remains.

Feat	Half	Level	Taxon	common name	Element	Portion	Side	Age	Alteration	Fracture	n=
3	S	2	Centrarchidae	sunfish/bass	fin spine	whole	-	adult	none	-	1
3	S	2	Osteichthyes		rib	shaft	-	-	none	-	1
3	S	2	Osteichthyes		fin ray	proximal	-	-	none	-	1
3	S	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	cheek tooth	root	-	-	none	-	2
3	S	2	<i>Ursus americanus</i>	black bear	distal phalanx	whole	-	adult	none	-	1
3	S	2	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	60
3	S	2	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	11
3	S	2	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	tarsometatarsus	prox.&shaft	r	subadult	none	-	1
3	S	2	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	vertebra	whole	-	-	none	-	2
3	S	2	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	beak	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
3	S	2	Passeriformes		tibiotarsus	proximal	l	adult	none	-	1
3	S	2	large bird		egg	shell	-	-	none	-	1
3	S	2	large bird		ossified tendon	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
3	S	2	<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	turkey	scapholunar	whole	l	adult	none	-	1
3	S	2	vertebrate		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	4
3	S	2	Centrarchidae	sunfish/bass	vertebra	whole	-	adult	none	-	1
3	S	2	Centrarchidae	sunfish/bass	vertebra	whole	-	adult	none	-	1
3	S	2	Osteichthyes		rib	whole	-	-	none	-	2
3	S	3	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	phalanx	whole	-	-	none	-	23
3	S	3	<i>Sciurus</i> sp.	squirrel	metatarsal	whole	-	-	none	-	2
2	N	1	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	middle phalanx	whole	-	-	none	-	1
2	N	1	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	patella	whole	l	-	none	-	1
2	N	1	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	tibiotarsus	distal	l	-	none	-	1
2	N	1	large mammal		long bone	shaft	-	-	chopped	perimortem	1
2	N	1	large mammal		rib	blade	-	-	none	-	3
2	N	1	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
2	N	1	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	16
2	N	1	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	distal phalanx	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
2	N	1	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	7
2	N	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	distal phalanx	whole	-	subadult	none	-	1
2	N	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	metapod. epiphysis	whole	-	subadult	none	-	1
2	N	2	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	cervical vertebra	centrum	-	subadult	none	-	1
2	N	2	Caprinae	sheep/goat	humerus	distal	l	adult	none	-	1
2	N	2	large mammal		rib	neck	-	-	none	-	3

Appendix C. Inventory of faunal remains.

Feat	Half	Level	Taxon	common name	Element	Portion	Side	Age	Alteration	Fracture	n=
2	N	2	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	2
2	N	3	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	mandible	P3-M2	l	-	none	-	1
2	N	3	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	mandibular incisor	whole	-	-	none	-	1
2	N	3	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	carpal	whole	-	subadult	none	-	1
2	N	3	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	vertebra	centrum	-	subadult	none	-	1
2	N	3	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	caudal vertebra	whole	-	subadult	none	-	1
2	N	3	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	rib	neck	-	-	none	-	1
2	N	3	large mammal		long bone	shaft	-	-	none	-	4
2	N	3	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
2	N	3	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
2	N	3	large mammal		long bone	shaft	-	-	none	perimortem	1
2	N	3	large mammal		rib	blade	-	-	none	-	2
2	N	3	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	scapula	proximal	l	adult	none	-	1
2	N	3	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	mandible	M2-M3	l	subadult	none	-	1
2	N	3	large mammal		rib	fragment	-	-	none	-	4
2	N	3	large mammal		vert. epiphysis	whole	-	subadult	none	-	2
2	N	3	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	4
2	N	3	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	4
2	N	3	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	5
2	N	3	<i>Rattus</i> sp.	Old World rat	max. incisor	whole	l	-	none	-	1
2	N	3	<i>Rattus</i> sp.	Old World rat	max. incisor	whole	r	-	none	-	1
2	N	3	large bird		long bone	shaft	-	-	none	-	4
2	N	3	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	cheek tooth	enamel	-	-	none	-	2
2	N	3	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	2
2	N	3	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	12
2	N	3	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	12
2	N	3	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	max. canine	whole	l	adult	none	-	1
2	N	3	<i>Semotilus</i> <i>atromaculatus</i>	creek chub	pharyngeal	whole	l	adult	none	-	1
2	N	3	Osteichthyes		vertebra	spine	-	-	none	-	1
2	N	3	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	2
2	N	3	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	7
2	N	3	large mammal		tooth	enamel	-	-	none	-	2
2	N	3	vertebrate		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	6

Appendix C. Inventory of faunal remains.

Feat	Half	Level	Taxon	common name	Element	Portion	Side	Age	Alteration	Fracture	n=
2	N	3	vertebrate		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	7
2	S	1	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	deciduous max. M2	crown	r	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	1	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	calcaneus	whole	l	adult	none	-	1
1	W	1	<i>Procyon lotor</i>	raccoon	tibia epiph. prox.	whole	r	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	1	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	metatarsal	proximal	-	adult	none	-	1
1	W	1	small mammal		cranial	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	1	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	phalanx epiph. prox.	whole	-	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	1	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	cheek tooth	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	1	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	incisor	whole	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	1	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	4
1	W	1	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	2
1	W	1	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	5
1	W	1	large bird		long bone	shaft	-	-	none	-	4
1	W	1	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	tibia	shaft	l	adult	none	-	1
1	W	1	large mammal		cranial	alveolus	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	1	large mammal		long bone	shaft	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	1	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	3
1	W	1	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	1	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	coracoid	whole	l	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	1	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	ulna	whole	l	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	1	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	innominate	blade	r	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	1	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	radius	proximal	r	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	1	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	tarsometatarsus	proximal	l	juvenile	none	-	1
1	W	1	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	tarsometatarsus	distal	l	juvenile	none	-	1
1	W	1	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	alar phalanx 1	whole	-	juvenile	none	-	1
1	W	1	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	alar phalanx 2	whole	-	juvenile	none	-	1
1	W	1	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	metatarsal	whole	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	1	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	metatarsal	distal	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	1	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	phalanx	whole	-	-	none	-	4
1	W	1	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	rib	proximal	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	1	<i>Procyon lotor</i>	raccoon	incisor	whole	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	1	large mammal		tooth	enamel	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	1	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	3

Appendix C. Inventory of faunal remains.

Feat	Half	Level	Taxon	common name	Element	Portion	Side	Age	Alteration	Fracture	n=
1	W	1	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	8
1	W	1	vertebrate		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	13
1	W	1	vertebrate		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	13
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	femur	whole	r	adult	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	femur	proximal	r	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	tibia	proximal	r	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	humerus	whole	r	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	humerus	whole	l	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	mandible	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	rib	whole	-	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	premaxilla	fragment	r	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	rib	blade	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	large mammal		rib	neck	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	subadult	cut marks	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	innominate	ilium	l	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	scapula	inferior	l	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	vertebra	whole	-	subadult	none	-	3
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	rib	whole	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	rib	proximal	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	phalanx	whole	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	large mammal		rib	neck	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	large mammal		rib	blade	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	large mammal		vertebra	fragment	-	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	2	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	7
1	W	2	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	6
1	W	2	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	2
1	W	2	<i>Oryctolagus cuniculus</i>	domesticated European rabbit	femur	prox. & shaft	r	adult	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	femur	whole	l	adult	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	femur	shaft	l	adult	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	innominate	ilium	l	-	cut marks	-	1

Appendix C. Inventory of faunal remains.

Feat	Half	Level	Taxon	common name	Element	Portion	Side	Age	Alteration	Fracture	n=
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	innominate	ilium	r	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	ulna	prox. & shaft	l	adult	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	ulna	shaft	l	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	radius	prox. & shaft	r	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	radius	shaft	r	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	radius	shaft	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	metatarsal	shaft	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	Artiodactyla		phalanx	whole	-	juvenile	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	incisor	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	large mammal		rib	blade	-	-	rodent gnawed	-	1
1	W	2	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Procyon lotor</i>	raccoon	fibula	shaft	-	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	radius	distal	r	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Colinus virginianus</i>	bobwhite	tarsometatarsus	whole	r	adult	none	-	1
1	W	2	large bird		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	2
1	W	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	mandible	C-P2	l	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>O. virginianus</i>	white-tailed deer	antler	tine	-	adult	tool handle	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	vert. epiphysis	whole	-	subadult	none	-	2
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	rib	proximal	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	rib	shaft	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	vertebra	spine	-	-	none	-	2
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	metatarsal	distal	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Peromyscus</i> sp.	deer mouse	femur	distal	l	adult	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Peromyscus</i> sp.	deer mouse	humerus	whole	r	adult	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Colinus virginianus</i>	bobwhite	tibiotarsus	shaft	r	adult	none	-	1
1	W	2	large bird		phalanx	whole	-	-	none	-	11
1	W	2	large bird		phalanx	fragment	-	-	none	-	2
1	W	2	small bird		radius	distal	r	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	vertebrate		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	18

Appendix C. Inventory of faunal remains.

Feat	Half	Level	Taxon	common name	Element	Portion	Side	Age	Alteration	Fracture	n=
1	W	2	vertebrate		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	9
1	W	2	Centrarchidae	sunfish/bass	scale	whole	-	-	none	-	9
1	W	2	Osteichthyes		fin ray	proximal	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	Osteichthyes		fin spine	proximal	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	Centrarchidae	sunfish/bass	vertebra	centrum	-	adult	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	innominate	ischium	l	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	innominate	ilium	r	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	tibia	proximal	l	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	humerus	distal	l	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	femur	shaft	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	scapula	proximal	l	-	none	-	2
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	rib	proximal	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	cottontail rabbit	vertebra	whole	-	subadult	none	-	5
1	W	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	max. canine	whole	l	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	incisor	whole	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	max. premolar	whole	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	cheek tooth	enamel	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	middle phalanx	whole	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	large mammal		rib	blade	-	-	none	-	2
1	W	2	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	3
1	W	2	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	ulna	whole	l	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	tarsometatarsus	whole	r	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	carpometacarpus	proximal	l	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	<i>Anas platyrhynchos</i>	mallard	tarsometatarsus	whole	r	-	none	-	1
1	W	2	large bird		phalanx	whole	-	-	none	-	2
1	W	2	large bird		flat bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	3	Cervidae	deer/elk	antler	fragment	-	adult	tool handle	-	1
1	W	3	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	rib	blade	-	-	none	-	3
1	W	3	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	mand. P3	whole	r	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	3	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	mand. M3	whole	r	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	3	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	max. P4	whole	l	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	3	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	maxilla	M1-M3	r	-	none	-	1
1	W	3	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	metatarsal	whole	-	subadult	none	-	1

Appendix C. Inventory of faunal remains.

Feat	Half	Level	Taxon	common name	Element	Portion	Side	Age	Alteration	Fracture	n=
1	W	3	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	distal phalanx	whole	-	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	3	<i>Procyon lotor</i>	raccoon	temporal	fragment	l	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	3	<i>Sylvilagus sp.</i>	rabbit	innominate	whole	l		none	-	1
1	W	3	large mammal		rib	shaft	-	-	none	-	4
1	W	3	large mammal		vertebra	spine	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	3	large mammal		vertebra	centrum	-	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	3	large mammal		long bone	shaft	-	-	none	-	4
1	W	3	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	11
1	W	3	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	cut marks	-	2
1	W	3	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	2
1	W	3	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	4
1	W	3	small mammal		long bone	shaft	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	3	<i>Anas platyrhynchos</i>	mallard	tarsometatarsus	whole	l	-	none	-	1
1	W	3	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	carpometacarpus	proximal	l	-	none	-	1
1	W	3	<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	turkey	sternum	anterior	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	3	<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	turkey	vertebra	anterior	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	3	<i>Corvus</i>	crow	mandible	half	-		none	-	1
			<i>brachyrhynchos</i>								
1	W	3	<i>Corvus</i>	crow	beak	whole	-		none	-	1
			<i>brachyrhynchos</i>								
1	W	3	large bird		long bone	shaft	-	-	none	-	3
1	W	3	large bird		flat bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	3	large mammal		tooth	root	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	3	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	2
1	W	3	<i>Colinus virginianus</i>	bobwhite	tarsometatarsus	proximal	l	adult	none	-	1
1	W	3	large bird		occipital	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	3	large bird		phalanx	whole	-	-	none	-	3
1	W	3	<i>Micropterus salmoides</i>	largemouth bass	parasphenoid	whole	-	adult	none	-	1
1	W	3	<i>Micropterus salmoides</i>	largemouth bass	dentary	whole	l	adult	none	-	1
1	W	3	Centrarchidae	sunfish/bass	vertebra	whole	-	adult	none	-	2
1	W	4	<i>Chelydra serpentina</i>	snapping turtle	carapace	neural	-	adult	none	-	1
1	W	4	large mammal		rib	fragment	-	-	none	-	3
1	W	4	large mammal		long bone	shaft	-	-	none		1
1	W	4	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	frontal	whole	-	subadult	none	-	2

Appendix C. Inventory of faunal remains.

Feat	Half	Level	Taxon	common name	Element	Portion	Side	Age	Alteration	Fracture	n=
1	W	4	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	coracoid	whole	r	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	4	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	femur	whole	l	adult	none	-	1
1	W	4	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	tarsometatarsus	whole	l	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	4	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	rib	whole	-	-	none	-	2
1	W	4	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	vertebra	whole	-	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	4	large bird		phalanx	whole	-	-	none	-	3
1	W	4	<i>Colinus virginianus</i>	bobwhite	humerus	proximal	l	adult	none	-	1
1	W	4	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	metapod. Epiphysis	whole	-	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	4	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	max. M1	whole	r	adult	none	-	1
1	W	4	large mammal		rib	neck	-	-	rodent gnawed	-	1
1	W	4	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	5
1	W	4	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	tarsometatarsus	shaft	r	subadult	none	-	1
1	W	4	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	vertebra	whole	-	subadult	none	-	2
1	W	4	large bird		rib	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
1	W	4	large bird		phalanx	whole	-	-	none	-	7
1	W	4	vertebrate		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	18
1	E	1	Osteichthyes		vertebra	fragment	-	-	none	-	2
1	E	1	large mammal		long bone	shaft	-	-	none	-	1
1	E	1	large mammal		long bone	shaft	-	-	none	-	1
1	E	1	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	2
1	E	1	large bird		long bone	shaft	-	-	none	-	1
1	E	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	mandibular premolar	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
1	E	2	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	4
1	E	2	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	2
1	E	2	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	2
1	E	2	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	2
1	E	2	mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
1	E	2	<i>Micropterus salmoides</i>	largemouth bass	interoperculum	whole	r	adult	none	-	1
1	E	2	Centrarchidae	sunfish/bass	vertebra	whole	-	adult	none	-	4
1	E	2	<i>O. virginianus</i>	white-tailed deer	femur	distal & shaft	l	subadult	cut marks	-	1
1	E	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	scapula	superior	r	-	cut marks	-	1

Appendix C. Inventory of faunal remains.

Feat	Half	Level	Taxon	common name	Element	Portion	Side	Age	Alteration	Fracture	n=
1	E	2	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	maxillary premolar	whole	r	subadult	none	-	1
1	E	2	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	rib	blade	-	-	cut marks	-	1
1	E	2	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	mand. P3	whole	r	-	none	-	1
1	E	2	large mammal		long bone	shaft	-	-	none	perimortem	2
1	E	2	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	10
1	E	2	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
1	E	3	large bird		egg	shell	-	-	none	-	11
1	E	3	<i>O. virginianus</i>	white-tailed deer	femur dist. epiph.	whole	l	subadult	none	-	1
1	E	3	<i>O. virginianus</i>	white-tailed deer	femur head epiph.	whole	l	subadult	none	-	1
1	E	3	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	vertebra	fragment	-	subadult	none	-	3
1	E	3	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	cervical vertebra	anterior	-	adult	none	-	1
1	E	3	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	maxilla	M1-M3	l	adult	none	-	1
1	E	3	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	fibula	shaft	-	juvenile	none	-	1
1	E	3	large mammal		long bone	shaft	-	-	none	-	2
1	E	3	large mammal		long bone	shaft	-	-	none	-	1
1	E	3	large mammal		caudal vertebra	whole	-	-	none	-	4
1	E	3	large mammal		rib	blade	-	-	none	-	4
1	E	3	large mammal		long bone	shaft	-	-	none	perimortem	2
1	E	3	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	8
1	E	3	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
1	E	3	small mammal		rib	whole	-	subadult	none	-	1
1	E	3	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	vert. epiphysis	whole	-	subadult	none	-	1
1	E	3	<i>Rattus</i> sp.	Old World rat	femur	whole	l	subadult	none	-	1
1	E	3	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	humerus	distal	l	-	none	-	1
1	E	3	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	humerus	shaft	l	-	none	-	1
1	E	3	large bird		long bone	shaft	-	-	none	-	2
1	E	3	large bird		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
1	E	3	large bird		phalanx	whole	-	-	none	-	1
1	E	3	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	vertebra	whole	-	-	none	-	2
1	E	3	<i>Micropterus salmoides</i>	largemouth bass	frontal	whole	r	adult	none	-	1
1	E	3	<i>Micropterus salmoides</i>	largemouth bass	dentary	whole	l	adult	none	-	1
1	E	3	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	distal phalanx	whole	-	juvenile	none	-	1
1	E	3	<i>Peromyscus</i> sp.	deer mouse	innominate	whole	l	adult	none	-	1
1	E	3	large bird		phalanx	whole	-	-	none	-	3

Appendix C. Inventory of faunal remains.

Feat	Half	Level	Taxon	common name	Element	Portion	Side	Age	Alteration	Fracture	n=
1	E	3	large bird		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
1	E	3	vertebrate		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	4
1	E	3	vertebrate		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	3
1	E	3	<i>Micropterus</i> sp.	bass	supracleithrum	whole	r	adult	none	-	1
1	E	3	Centrarchidae	sunfish/bass	scale	whole	-	adult	none	-	27
1	E	3	Centrarchidae	sunfish/bass	scale	whole	-	adult	green stain	-	2
1	E	3	Centrarchidae	sunfish/bass	pterygiophore	whole	-	adult	none	-	1
1	E	3	Centrarchidae	sunfish/bass	vertebra	whole	-	adult	none	-	2
1	E	3	Osteichthyes		rib	whole	-	-	none	-	1
1	E	3	Osteichthyes		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	2
1	E	4	<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	vert. epiphysis	fragment	-	subadult	none	-	2
1	E	4	large mammal		cranial	fragment	-	-	none	-	2
1	E	4	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	11
1	E	4	large mammal		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	1
1	E	4	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	tibiotarsus	whole	r	adult	cut marks	-	1
1	E	4	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	tibiotarsus	shaft	r	subadult	none	-	1
1	E	4	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	scapula	proximal	r	subadult	cut marks	-	1
1	E	4	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	femur	whole	l	-	chewed	-	1
1	E	4	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	humerus	shaft	l	-	none	-	1
1	E	4	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	tarsometatarsus	whole	l	subadult	none	-	2
1	E	4	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	tarsometatarsus	whole	l	adult	none	-	1
1	E	4	<i>Anas platyrhynchos</i>	mallard	humerus	whole	l	adult	cut marks	-	1
1	E	4	<i>Anas platyrhynchos</i>	mallard	alar phalanx 1	whole	-	adult	none	-	1
1	E	4	large bird		egg	shell	-	-	none	-	1
1	E	4	large mammal		rib	proximal	-	-	none	-	1
1	E	4	<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	fibula	shaft	-	juvenile	none	-	1
1	E	4	<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	vertebra	whole	-	subadult	none	-	1
1	E	4	large bird		rib	blade	-	-	none	-	1
1	E	4	large bird		egg	shell	-	-	none	-	22
1	E	4	large bird		phalanx	whole	-	-	none	-	4

Appendix C. Inventory of faunal remains.

Feat	Half	Level	Taxon	common name	Element	Portion	Side	Age	Alteration	Fracture	n=
1	E	4	<i>Chelydra serpentina</i>	snapping turtle	vertebra	whole	-	adult	none	-	1
1	E	4	Osteichthyes		rib	whole	-	-	none	-	1
1	E	4	vertebrate		bone	fragment	-	-	none	-	2

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abert, Colonel John James
1850 "On the use of the common or customary instruments for the making of survey."
Record Group 77, Folder E161, Manuscript in National Archives, Washington D.C.
- Adair, James
1930 *Adair's History of the American Indians*. Edited by Samuel Cole Williams. Watauga Press, Johnson City, Tennessee. Originally published 1775.
- Adams, William, and Sarah Boling
1989 Status and Ceramics for Planters and Slaves on Three Georgia Coastal Plantations. *Historical Archaeology* 23(1):69-96.
- Adelman, Jeremy, and Stephen Aron
1999 From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in Between in North American History, *American Historical Review* 104:815-816.
- Allison, Penelope
1999 *The Archaeology of Household Activities*. Routledge Press, London, New York.
- Altman, Heidi
2006 *Eastern Cherokee Fishing*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Alvey, Richard, Harley Lanham, Sean Coughlin, Gary Crites, and Brett Riggs
1993 Intensive Archaeological Survey for Cultural Resources and Testing of Site 9CK51 in the I-75 to State Route 371 connector, Section NH-208-1(5). Bartow, Forsyth, and Cherokee Counties, Georgia. Report submitted to the Georgia Department of Transportation, University of Tennessee Transportation Center, Knoxville.
- Anderson, Benedict
1991 *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso, London, New York.
- Andrews, Susan, and Amy Young
1992 Plantations on the Periphery of the Old South: Modeling a New Approach. *Tennessee Anthropologist* 17:1-12.
- anonymous
1838 Letter to General Winfield Scott, September 4, 1838. Record Group 75, United States National Archives, Washington, D.C. [name appears as "Te[illegible], P. F."]
- Axe, John
1853 Conveyance of title, State of North Carolina to John Axe, December 1, 1853. Manuscript on file, Cherokee County Register of Deeds, Book 7, page 609, Cherokee County, North Carolina.
- Axley, Felix
1851 Letter to William Holland Thomas, January 23, 1851. Unbound papers, William Holland Thomas papers, Duke Special Collections, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

- Baden, William
1987 A Dynamic Model of Stability and Change in Mississippian Agricultural Systems. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- Baker, Raymond
1974 Indian Corn and Its Culture. *Agricultural History* 48(1):94-97.
- Baker, Stephen
1970 Selective Analysis of Two Historic Indian Trash Pits from New Echota. *The Conference on Historic Sites Archaeology Papers* 5(1):122-137.
- Barile, Kerri, and Jamie Brandon
2004 *Household Chores and Household Choices: Theorizing the Domestic Sphere in Historical Archaeology*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Barker, David, and Teresita Majewski
2006 Ceramic Studies in Historical Archaeology. In *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology*. Edited by Dan Hicks and Mary Beaudry, pages 205-234. Cambridge University Press.
- Barnard, Andrew
1840 Letter to Governor Edward Dudley, April 6, 1840. Governor's papers, State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.
- Beaudry, Mary
2006 *Findings: The Material Culture of Needlework and Sewing*. Yale University Press.
- Bishir, Catherine, Michael Southern, and Jennifer Martin
1999 *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Western North Carolina*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Blake, William
1860 Report upon the property of the Valley River Gold Company. North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Bogan, Arthur, Lori LaValley, and Gerald Schroedl
1986 Faunal Remains. Overhill Cherokee Archaeology at Chota-Tanasee, pages 469-514, edited by Gerald Schroedl, University of Tennessee, Department of Anthropology, Report of Investigations 38.
- Boydston, Jeanne
1990 *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic*. Oxford University Press.
- Bridgers, Ben Oshel
1979 A Legal Digest of North Carolina Cherokees. *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 4(1):21-43.

1980 An Historical Analysis of the Legal Status of the North Carolina Cherokees. *North Carolina Law Review* 58:1075-1131.

- Browder, Nathaniel
1973 *The Cherokee Indians and those Who Came After: Notes for a History of Cherokee County, North Carolina, 1835-1860*. Hayesville, North Carolina.
- Brumfiel, Elizabeth
1996 The Quality of Tribute Cloth: The Place of Evidence in Archaeological Argument. *American Antiquity* 61:453-462.
- Burley, David V.
1988 Function, Meaning, and Context: Ambiguities in Ceramic Use by the *Hivernant Métis* of the Northwestern Plains. *Historical Archaeology* 23:97-106.
- Burley, David V., Gayel A. Horsfall, and John D. Brandon
1992 Structural Considerations of *Métis* Ethnicity: An Archaeological, Architectural, and Historical Study. The University of South Dakota Press, Vermillion.
- Butrick, Daniel
1838 The journal of Reverend Daniel S. Butrick, in the John Howard Payne papers, volume 9, pages 67-95, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.
- Bynum, John Gray
1838a Letter to General Winfield Scott, June 13, 1838. John Gray Bynum Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

1838b Letter to General Winfield Scott, June 19, 1838. John Gray Bynum papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- Cabak, Melanie, and Mark Groover
2006 Bush Hill: Material Life at a Working Plantation. *Historical Archaeology* 40(4):51-83.
- Calhoun, Craig
1994 *Nationalism*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.
- Chapman, Alfred
1851 Chapman Roll of Eastern Cherokee. Microfilm M685 Roll 12, United States National Archives, Washington D.C.
- Chavez, Leo
1991 Outside the Imagined Community: Undocumented Settlers and Experiences of Incorporation. *American Ethnologist* 18:257-278.
- Coe, Joffre
1961 Cherokee Archaeology, in Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture, pages 53-60, edited by John Gulick, Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin 180*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Colton, Henry
1860 Guidebook to the Scenery of Western North Carolina. Western Advocate Office, Asheville.

- Colvord v. Monroe
1869 DOE ex dem A. N. COLVORD v. MONROE. Supreme Court, North Carolina, 63 N.C. 288; 1869 N.C
- Corkran, David
1962 *The Cherokee Frontier*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Cott, Nancy
1977 *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835*. Yale University Press.
- Cotter, John
1958 *Archaeological Investigations at Jamestown Colonial National Historical Park and Jamestown National Historic Site, Virginia*. National Park Service, Archaeological Research Series 4. Washington D.C.
- Coysh, A.W., and R.K. Henrywood
1982 *The Dictionary of Blue and White Printed Pottery, 1780-1880*, Volume I. Antique Collectors' Club, Woodbridge, England.
- Crane, Verner
1929 *The Southern Frontier, 1760-1832*. Duke University Press, Durham.
- Cuthrell, Rob
2005 Mid-19th Century Cherokee Foodways and Identity in Western North Carolina. Unpublished Honor's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- Deaver, Reuben
1837 Private property map of Cherokee County, North Carolina. Copy on file, Cherokee County Court House, Murphy, North Carolina.
- Deetz, James
1977 *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life*. Anchor Press/Doubleday.
- Delle, James, Stephen Mrozowski, and Robert Paynter (editors)
2000 *Lines That Divide: Historical Archaeologies of Race, Class, and Gender*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Dickageeska
1843 Memorial of Dickageeska, Chief of Buffalo Town, for the value of a pre-emption. File 232, Records of the Fourth Board of Cherokee Commissioners (1846-1847). Record Group 75, United States National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- Dickens, Roy
1976 *Cherokee Prehistory: The Pisgah Phase in the Appalachian Summit Region*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

- 1979 The Origins and Development of Cherokee Culture. In *The Cherokee Indian Nation: A Troubled History*. Edited by Duane King, pages 3-32. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Douglas, Mary, and Baron Isherwood
 1979 *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumerism*. Basic Books, New York.
- Dunaway, Wilma
 1996 *The First American Frontier: Transition to Capitalism in Southern Appalachia, 1700-1860*. The Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- 2003 *Slavery in the American Mountain South*. Cambridge University Press.
- Egloff, Brian
 1967 An Analysis of Ceramics from Historic Cherokee Towns. Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- Ehle, John
 1988 *Trail of Tears: The Rise and Fall of the Cherokee Nation*. Anchor Books, Doubleday.
- Eltis, David, Frank Lewis, and Kenneth Sokoloff
 2004 *Slavery in the Development of the Americas*. Cambridge University Press.
- Epperson, Terrence
 1997 Whiteness in Early Virginia. *Race Traitor* 7: 9-20.
- Evans, J.P.
 1979 Sketches of Cherokee Characteristics [ca. 1835]. *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 4:10-20.
- Featherstonaugh, George
 1847 *A Canoe Voyage up the Minnay Sotor*. R. Bentley, London.
- Ferguson, Leland
 1992 *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology of Early African America, 1650-1800*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- Fewkes, Vladimir
 1944 Catawba Pottery-Making, with notes on Pamunkey Pottery-Making, Cherokee Pottery-Making and Coiling. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 88(2):69-124.
- Finger, John
 1980 The North Carolina Cherokees, 1838-1866: Traditionalism, Progressivism, and the Affirmation of State Citizenship. In *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 5:17-29.
- 1981 The Abortive Second Cherokee Removal, 1841-1844. *Journal of Southern History* 47:207-226.

- 1984 *The Eastern Band of Cherokees, 1819-1900*. The University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- 1991 The Impact of removal on the North Carolina Cherokees. In *Cherokee removal: Before and After*, University of Georgia Press, edited by William Anderson, pages 96-111.
- Foreman, Grant
1976 *Indian removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Foucault, Michel
1978 *The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction*, translated by Robert Hurley. Random House, Inc.
- 1979 *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, translated by Alan Sheridan. Vintage Books, New York.
- Francis, Peter
1980 Bead Report III: Beads in Egypt. *Ornament* 4(4): 15-17; 49-50.
- Freel, Margaret
1957 *Our Heritage*. The Miller Printing Company, Asheville, North Carolina.
- Frizzell, George
1981 Legal Status of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. Unpublished Master's thesis, Western Carolina University.
- Garrow, Patrick
1979 The Historic Cabin Site: The Last Trace of the Cherokee Town of Coosawattee. *Early Georgia* 7(1):1-28.
- Gates, E. Nathaniel (editor)
1997 *Racial Classification and History*. Garland Publishers, New York.
- Genovese, Eugene
1976 *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*. Vintage Books, New York.
- Godbold, E. Stanly, Jr., and Mattie Russell
1990 *Confederate Colonel and Cherokee Chief: The Life of William Holland Thomas*. The University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Good, Mary Elizabeth
1972 Guebert Site: An Eighteenth Century Historic Kaskaskia Indian Village in Randolph County, Illinois. *Central States Archaeological Societies, Memoir* 2.
- Goodwin, Gary
1977 Cherokees in Transition: A Study of Changing Culture and Environment Prior to 1775. *Department of Geography, University of Chicago, Research Paper* 181.

- Gould, Roger V.
1996 Patron-Client Ties, State Centralization, and the Whiskey Rebellion. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 102(2):400-429.
- Gunter, G.W.
1843 Claim for spoliation of property. File 766, Records of the Fourth Board of Cherokee Commissioners (1838-1844), Record Group 75, United States National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- Haefeli, Evan
1999 A Note on the Use of North American Borderlands, *American Historical Review* 104:1222-1225.
- Harrington, Jean C.
1952 *Glassmaking at Jamestown: America's First Industry*. Dietz Press, Richmond.
- Harrington, Jean C., Albert Manucy, and John Goggin
1956 *Archaeological Excavations in the Courtyard of Castillo de San Marcos, St. Augustine, Florida*. St. Augustine Historical Society.
- Harrington, Mark
1908 The Last of the Iroquois Potters. *Bulletin 133, Fifth Report of the Director*. New York State Museum, Albany.

1922 Cherokee and Earlier Remains on the Upper Tennessee River, *Indian Notes and Monographs*, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York.
- Hawkins, Nancy
1852 Conveyance of title, State of North Carolina to Nancy Hawkins, May 8, 1852. Manuscript on file, Cherokee County Register of Deeds, Book 6, pages 170-171, Cherokee County, North Carolina.
- Hetzel, A.R.
1841 Letter to General Jesup, January 23, 1841. Entry 357, Record Group 92, United States National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- Hill, Sarah
1997 *Weaving New Worlds: Southeastern Cherokee Women and Their Basketry*. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Hindman, Thomas
1841 Letter to Thomas Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 20, 1841. Letters received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, microfilm M-234, roll 86, pages 582-584.
- Hitchcock, Ethan Allen
1930 *A traveler in Indian territory; the journal of Ethan Allen Hitchcock, late major-general in the United States Army*, edited and annotated by Grant Foreman. The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

- Hodder, Ian, and Scott Hutson
2003 *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hudson, Charles
1990 *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Hunter, A.R.S.
1836-1838 Cherokee accounts ledger of the Huntington store. Manuscript on file, Cherokee County Historical Museum, Murphy, North Carolina.

1843 Claim for spoliation of property. File 1134, Records of the Fourth Board of Cherokee Commissioners (1838-1844), Record Group 75, United States National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- Inscoc, John
1996 *Mountain Masters: Slavery and the Sectional Crisis in Western North Carolina*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Inscoc, John (editor)
2001 *Appalachians and Race: The Mountain South from Slavery to Segregation*. University of Kentucky Press, Lexington.
- Iobst, Richard
1979 William Holland Thomas and the Cherokee Claims. In *The Cherokee Indian Nation: A Troubled History*, pages 181-201. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Jenkins, Michael
1975 Glass Trade Beads in Alaska. *Bead Journal* 2(1): 23-26.
- Jones, Evan
1826 Letter to Lucius Bolles, December 22, 1826. Letterbook and journals of the Valletowns Baptist Mission (1826-1836). Microfilm 93, Records of the American Foreign Mission Societies, American Baptist Archives Center, Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.
- Johnson, Stephen
1975 Living Beads in Guatemala. *Bead Journal* 2(1): 18-22.
- Joseph, J.W.
1989 Pattern and Process in the Plantation Archaeology of the Lowcountry of Georgia and South Carolina *Historical Archaeology* 23(1):55-68.
- Junaluska
1847 Conveyance of title, State of North Carolina to Junaluska, June 2, 1847. Manuscript on file, Cherokee County Register of Deeds, Book 5, page 33, Cherokee County, North Carolina.
- Jurgelski, William
2004 A New Plow in Old Ground: Cherokees, Whites, and Land in Western North Carolina, 1819-1829. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Georgia, Athens.

- 2006 New Light on the Tsali Affair. In *Light on the Path: The Anthropology and History of the Southeastern Indians*. Edited by Thomas Pluckhahn and Robbie Ethridge, pages 133-164. The University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Keel, Bennie
1976 *Cherokee Archaeology: A Study of the Appalachian Summit*. The University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Kilpatrick, Anna, and Jack Kilpatrick
1966 Chronicles of Wofltown: Social Documents of the North Carolina Cherokees, 1850-1862. Bureau of American Ethnology *Bulletin* 196. Washington D.C.
- King, Duane
1979 The Origin of the Eastern Cherokees as a Social and Political Entity. In *The Cherokee Indian Nation: A Troubled History*, pages 164-180. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- King, J.W.
1844 Letter to William Holland Thomas, December 12, 1844. James Terrell papers, microfilm roll 1, (1813-1852), Duke Special Collections, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.
- Klinck, Carl, and James Talman
1970 *The Journal of Major John Norton, 1816*. The Champlain Society, Toronto.
- Kopytoff, Igor
1988 The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process. In *The Social Life of Things*. Edited by Arjun Appadurai, pages 64-94. Cambridge University Press.
- Lanman, Charles
1849 *Letters from the Alleghany Mountains*. G.P. Putnam, New York.
- Ledbetter, Gerald, Dean Wood, Karen Wood, Robbie Ethridge, and Chad Braley
1987 Cultural Resources Survey of Allatoona Lake Area, Georgia. Report submitted to the Army Corps of Engineers, Mobile District. Southeastern Archaeological Services, Inc., Athens, Georgia.
- Leone, Mark, Parker Potter, and Paul Shackel
1987 Toward a Critical Archaeology. *Current Anthropology* 28(3):283-302.
- Lewis, John S.
2000 Becoming Appalachia: The Emergence of an American Subculture, 1840-1860. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Kentucky.
- Lewis, Thomas, and Madeleine Kneberg
1946 *Hiwassee Island: An Archaeological Account of Four Tennessee Indian Peoples*, University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Lightfoot, Kent, and Antoinette Martinez
1995 Frontiers and Boundaries in Archaeological Perspective. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24:471-492.

- Lightfoot, Kent, A. Martinez, and Ann M. Schiff
1998 Daily Practice and Material Culture in Pluralistic Social Settings: An Archaeological Study of Culture Change and Persistence from Fort Ross, California. *American Antiquity* 6:199-222.
- Lightfoot, Kent, Thomas A. Wake, and Ann M. Schiff
1993 Native Responses to the Russian Mercantile Colony of Fort Ross, Northern California. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 20:159-175.
- Litton, Gaston
1940 Enrollment Records of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. *North Carolina Historical Review* 17:199-231.
- Locust, Joe
1852 Conveyance of title, State of North Carolina to Joe Locust, March 24, 1852. Manuscript on file, Cherokee County Register of Deeds, Book 5, page 381, Cherokee County, North Carolina.
- Lounsbury, Floyd
1961 Iroquois-Cherokee linguistic relations. In *Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture*, edited by William Fenton and John Gulick, pages 11-17. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 180. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Luscomb, Sally
1967 *The Collector's Encyclopedia of Buttons*. Crown Publishers, Inc., New York.
- Majewski, Teresita, Michael O'Brien
1987 The Use and Misuse of Nineteenth-Century English and American Ceramics in Archaeological Analysis. In *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, Volume 11, pp. 97-209.
- McGuire, Randall, and Robert Paynter
1991 *The Archaeology of Inequality*. Blackwell Press, Oxford.
- McKelway, Henry
1994 Slave and Master in the Upland South: Archaeological Investigations at the Mabry Site. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- McLoughlin, William
1990 *Champions of the Cherokees: Evan and John B. Jones*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.

1992 *Cherokee Renaissance in the New Republic*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
- McRae, Barbara
2000 *Records of Old Macon County, N.C., 1829-1850*. Clearfield Company.

- Meskeil, Lynn
 2000 Writing the Body in Archaeology. In *Reading the Body: Representations and Remains in the Archaeological Record*, edited by Alison Rautman, pages 13-24. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
- Miles, Tiya
 2005 *Ties That Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Mille, Polly
 1975 An Historical Explanation of Alaskan Trade Beads. *Bead Journal* 2(2): 20-24.
- Miller George
 1991 A revised set of CC index values for classification and economic scaling of English ceramics from 1787 to 1880. *Historical Archaeology* 25(1):1-25.
- Mintz, Steven, and John Stauffer
 2007 *The Problem of Evil: Slavery, Freedom, and the Ambiguities of American Reform*. University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst.
- Mitchie, Barry
 1981 The Transformation of Agrarian Patron-Client Relations: Illustrations from India. *American Ethnologist* 8(1):21-40.
- Mooney, James
 1900 Myths of the Cherokee. Bureau of American Ethnology, Nineteenth *Annual Report*, 1897-1898, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
 1982 *Myths of the Cherokee and Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees*. Reproduction of 19th and 7th Annual Reports B.A.E. Charles and Randy Elder Booksellers, Nashville, Tennessee.
- Moore, David
 1986 The Pisgah Phase: Cultural Continuity in the Appalachian Summit? In *Conference on Cherokee Prehistory*, pages 73-80, assembled by David Moore. Warren Wilson College, Swannanoa, North Carolina.
- Nadel-Klein, Jane
 1991 Reweaving the Fringe: Localism, Tradition, and Representation in British Ethnography. *American Ethnologist* 18(3):500-517.
- Neeley, Sharlotte
 1991 *Snowbird Cherokees: People of Persistence*. University of Georgia Press, Athens.
- Nelson, Lee
 1968 Nail Chronology as an Aid to Dating Old Buildings. *History News* 24(11). American Association for State and Local History, Nashville, Tennessee.
- Noel Hume
 1969 *Historical Archaeology*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.
 1970 *Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

- 1982 *Martin's Hundred*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.
- Olmsted, Frederick Law
1860 *A Journey in the Backcountry, 1853-1854*. Schocken Books, New York.
- Orser, Charles
1988 Toward a Theory of Power for Historical Archaeology: Plantations and Space. In *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States*. Edited by Mark Leone and Parker Potter, pages 313-344. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C.
- 1998 The Challenge of Race to American Historical Archaeology. *American Anthropologist* 100(3): 661-668.
- 2001 Race and the Archaeology of Identity in the Modern World. In *Race and the Archaeology of Identity*. Edited by Charles Orser, Jr., pages 1-13. The University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
- 2004 *Race and Practice in Archaeological Interpretation*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
- Owl, Chinoque, and Wa haw neet
1843 Letter to the Cherokee commissioners, August 21, 1843. William Holland Thomas papers, unbound papers Box 2, Duke Special Collections, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.
- Owl, Henry
1929 The Eastern Band of Cherokees before and after removal. Unpublished Master's thesis, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- Payne, John Howard
1835 The Cherokee Cause. *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 1(1):17-22.
- Perdue, Theda
2004 Race and Culture: Writing the Ethnohistory of the Early South. *Ethnohistory* 51(3):701-723.
- Pfeiffer, Rozanna
1983 Glass Trade Beads from Caesarea Maritima, Israel. In Proceedings of the 1982 Glass Trade Bead Conference, Research Records No. 16, pp. 205-212.
- Porter, Captain George
1838 Letter to Major Kirby, June 18, 1838. Correspondence of the Eastern Division Pertaining to Cherokee Removal, April-December 1838. Record Group 393, M1475, United States National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- Powell, John
1843a Letter to commissioners John Eaton and Edward Hubley, September 22, 1843. File 178, Records of the Fourth Board of Cherokee Commissioners (1846-1847). Record Group 75, United States National Archives, Washington, D.C.

1843b Letter to commissioners, September 23, 1843. File 458, Records of the Fourth Board of Cherokee Commissioners (1846-1847). Record Group 75, United States National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Powell, Joseph

1837 "Proceedings of a court of Inquiry held on the 10th of November at Fort Butler N.C. at the request of Lieut. Col. Joseph Powell Tenn. Vol's." Record Group 75, United States National Archives, Washington D.C.

Rabinow, Paul

1984 Introduction, in *The Foucault Reader*. Pantheon Books, New York.

Riggs, Brett

1988 An Historical and Archaeological Reconnaissance of Citizen Cherokee Reservations in Macon, Swain, and Jackson Counties, North Carolina. Submitted to the North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh. Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

1996 Removal Period Cherokee Households and Communities in Southwestern North Carolina (1835-1838). Final Report of the Cherokee Homestead Project, submitted to the North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources, Raleigh, North Carolina.

1999 Removal Period Cherokee Households in Southwestern North Carolina: Material Perspectives on Ethnicity and Cultural Differentiation. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

2000 Historic and Prehistoric Native American Artifacts. In Archaeological Data Recovery at the McCombs Slave Quarter Site (31CE338), Cherokee County, North Carolina. Final report submitted to the Federal Highway Administration and the North Carolina Department of Transportation.

Riggs, Brett, and Lance Greene

2005 The Cherokee Trail of Tears in North Carolina: An Inventory of Trail Resources in Cherokee, Clay, Graham, Macon, and Swain Counties. Report submitted to the National Park Service Long Distance Trails Office.

Riggs, Brett, and Lance Greene

2007 Archaeological Evaluation of Four Removal Era (1835-1838) Sites on Nantahala National Forest. Report submitted to the USDA Forest Service.

Rogers, Johnson K.

1843 Claim for spoliation of property. File 432, Records of the Fourth Board of Cherokee Commissioners, Record Group 75, United States National Archives, Washington, D.C.

1851 Letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Luke Lea, November 11, 1851. Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, microfilm M-234, roll 95, pages 14.

Rothrock, Mary

1929 Carolina Traders Among the Overhill Cherokees, 1690-1760. East Tennessee Historical Society Publications 1:3-18.

- Rothstein, Frances
1979 The Class Basis of Patron-Client Relations. *Latin American Perspectives* 6(2): 25-35.
- Royce, Charles
1975 *The Cherokee Nation of Indians*. Smithsonian Institution.
- Rubertone, Patricia E.
2000 The Historical Archaeology of Native Americans. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29:425-446.
- Russell, Mattie
1956 William Holland Thomas, White Chief of the Cherokees. Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University.
- Samson, Jane
2005 *Race and Empire*. Harlow, England.
- Sapsucker
1852 Conveyance of title, State of North Carolina to Sapsucker, February 25, 1852. Manuscript on file, Cherokee County Register of Deeds, Book 5, page 363-364, Cherokee County, North Carolina.
- Satz, Ronald
2002 *American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Saunt, Claudio
1999 *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816*. Cambridge University Press.

2005 *Black, White, and Indian: Race and the Unmaking of an American Family*. Oxford University Press.
- Saunt, Claudio, Barbara Krauthamer, Tiya Miles, Celia Naylor, and Circe Sturm
2006 Rethinking Race and Culture in the American South. *Ethnohistory* 53(2):399-405.
- Schroedl, Gerald
1986a Toward an Explanation of Cherokee Origins in East Tennessee. In *The Conference on Cherokee Prehistory*, assembled by David Moore, pages 122-138. Warren Wilson College, Swannanoa, North Carolina.

1986b Overhill Cherokee Archaeology at Chota-Tanasee. The University of Tennessee, Department of Anthropology, *Report of Investigations* 38.
- Schroedl, Gerald, and Brett Riggs
1989 Cherokee Lower Town Archaeology at the Chattooga Site (38OC18). Paper presented at the 46th Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Tamp, Florida.

- Schroedl, Gerald, and Andrea Shea
1986 Plant Remains. In *Overhill Cherokee Archaeology at Chota-Tanasee*, pages 515-530. Edited by Gerald Schroedl. University of Tennessee Department of Anthropology Report of Investigations 38.
- Schurr, Mark, Terrance Martin, and William Secunda
2006 How the Pokagon Band Avoided removal: Archaeological Evidence from the Faunal Assemblage of the Pokagon Village Site (20BE13). *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 31:143-164.
- Scott, Elizabeth
1994 *Those of Little Note: Gender, Race and Class in Historical Archaeology*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Scott, H.L.
1838 Letter to General Winfield Scott, August 22, 1838. Record Group 75, United States National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- Scott, James C.
1972 Patron-Client Politics and Political Change in Southeast Asia. *The American Political Science Review*, 66(1):91-113.
- Shanks, Michael, and Ian Hodder
1995 Processual, Postprocessual, and Interpretive Archaeologies. In *Interpreting Archaeology: Finding Meaning in the Past*, edited by Ian Hodder, Michael Shanks, Alexander Alexandri, Victor Buchli, John Carman, Jonathan Last, and Gavin Lucas, pages 3-28. Routledge, New York.
- Shuler, Emanuel
1843 Claim for spoliation of property. File 400, Records of the Fourth Board of Cherokee Commissioners (1838-1844), Record Group 75, United States National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- Shumate, M. Scott, Patti Evans-Shumate, and Larry Kimball
2000 Archaeological Data Recovery at the McCombs Slave Quarter Site (31CE338), Cherokee County, North Carolina. Final report submitted to the Federal Highway Administration and the North Carolina Department of Transportation.
- Siler, David
1851 Siler Roll of Eastern Cherokee. 7RA 06, United States National Archives, Washington D.C.
- Siler, Margaret
2000 *Cherokee Indian Lore and Smoky Mountain Stories*. A Teresita Book.
- Singleton, Theresa
1991 The Archaeology of the Plantation South: A Review of Approaches and Goals. *Historical Archaeology* 24(4):70-77.
- Singleton, Theresa (editor)
1985 *The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life*. Academic Press, Orlando, Florida.

- Skinner, Ellen
1996 *Women and the National Experience: Primary Sources in American History*. Addison-Wesley Educational Publishers.
- Smedley, Audrey
1999 *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview*. Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado.
- South, Stanley
1977 *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*. Academic Press, New York.
- Stanmire v. Powell
1852 Stanmire vs. Powell, Supreme Court of North Carolina, 35 N.C. 312, 1852, North Carolina.
- Starrett, Preston
1843 Letter to commissioners, August 22, 1843. File 432, Records of the Fourth Board of Cherokee Commissioners (1846-1847). Record Group 75, United States National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- Stein, Howard F.
1984 A Note on Patron-Client Theory. *Ethos* 12(1):30-36.
- Sturm, Circe
2002 *Blood Politics: Race, Culture, and Identity in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma*. University of California Press.
- Swanton, John (editor)
1939 *Final Report of the United States de Soto Expedition Commission*. House Documents Number 71, 1st Session, 76th Congress, Washington, D.C.
- Swanton, John
1979 *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- Taylor, Elizabeth
1828 Letter to Abigail Parker, June 26, 1828. John Howard Payne papers, Newberry Library, University of Chicago.
- Thomas, Cyrus
1890 *The Cherokees in Pre-Columbian Times*. Hodges, New York.
- Thomas, Robert
1958 Cherokee Values and World View. Manuscript on file, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- Thomas, William Holland
1839-1843 Ledger F-3910, Cherokee County, North Carolina. Thomas Papers, Duke Library Special Collections.

1840a Census of the North Carolina Cherokees, 1840. Manuscript copy in the William Holland Thomas papers, Duke University Special Collections, Durham, North Carolina.

1840b Supplementary report of Cherokee Indians remaining in North Carolina, 1835-1840. Manuscript copy in the William Holland Thomas papers, Duke University Special Collections, Durham, North Carolina.

1841 Murphy ledger F-3881. William Holland Thomas papers, Duke University Special Collections, Durham, North Carolina.

1856 Day Book F-3892, Quallatown, North Carolina. Thomas Papers, Duke Library Special Collections.

Thornton, Russell

1990 *The Cherokees: A Population History*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

1991 The Demography of the Trail of Tears Period: A New Estimate of Cherokee Population Losses. In *Cherokee removal: Before and After*. Edited by William Anderson, pages 75-95. The University of Georgia Press, Athens.

Trigger, Bruce

2003 *Artifacts and Ideas: Essays in Archaeology*. Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick and London.

Trotter, William

1988 *Bushwhackers: The Civil War in North Carolina. Volume II: The Mountains*. John F. Blair, Publisher. Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

United States Bureau of the Census

1840a Agricultural census, Cherokee County, North Carolina. Nonpopulation Statistics: *Fifth Census of the United States*. United States Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1840b Slave schedule, Cherokee County, North Carolina. Nonpopulation Statistics: *Fifth Census of the United States*. United States Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1850a Population Statistics, Cherokee County, North Carolina. *Sixth Census of the United States*. United States Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1850b Slave schedule, Cherokee County, North Carolina. Nonpopulation Statistics: *Sixth Census of the United States*. United States Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1850c Agricultural census, Cherokee County, North Carolina. Nonpopulation Statistics: *Sixth Census of the United States*. United States Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

United States War Department

1835 Census Roll of the Cherokee Indians East of the Mississippi. Microcopy T-496, Record Group 75, United States National Archives, Washington D.C.

Van Gennep, Arnold

1960 *The Rites of Passage*. Translated by Monika Vizedom and Gabrielle Caffee. The University of Chicago Press.

Wachacha

1845 Conveyance of title, Gideon Morris to Wachacha, February 17, 1865. Manuscript on file, Cherokee County Register of Deeds, Book 2, page 493, Cherokee County, North Carolina.

Ward, Trawick, and R.P. Stephen Davis, Jr.

1999 *Time Before History: The Archaeology of North Carolina*. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Webb, Paul

1995 Hickory Log: Investigations at a Cherokee Homestead in North Georgia. Paper presented at the 52nd Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Weeks, Drury

1843 Letter to commissioners, August 19, 1843. File 432, Records of the Fourth Board of Cherokee Commissioners (1846-1847). Record Group 75, United States National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Welch, Elizabeth

1855 Letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 15, 1853. In Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, microfilm M-234, roll 97, page 43.

Welch, John

1838a Power of Attorney contract, John Welch to Jonathon Blythe and Jonathon Parker, June 20, 1838. Macon County, North Carolina deed book B.

1838b Power of attorney contract, John Welch to Elizabeth Welch, December 24, 1838. Records of the First Board of Cherokee Commissioners, miscellaneous papers, Record Group 75, United States National Archives, Washington, D.C.

1843 Claim for spoliation of property. File 431, Records of the Fourth Board of Cherokee Commissioners, Record Group 75, United States National Archives, Washington, D.C.

1846a Claim for spoliation of property. File 418, Records of the Fourth Board of Cherokee Commissioners, Record Group 75, United States National Archives, Washington, D.C.

1846b Claim for spoliation of property. File 687, Records of the Fourth Board of Cherokee Commissioners, Record Group 75, United States National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Welch, John C.

1855 Letter to John Taylor, July 23, 1855. In Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, microfilm M-234, roll 97, pages 41-42.

Welch, John, Edward Welch, and Wachecher (Wachacha)

1843 Letter to commissioners, August 1843. File 432, Records of the Fourth Board of Cherokee Commissioners (1846-1847). Record Group 75, United States National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Welch, William, and Nimrod Jarrett

1837 Valuations of Cherokee Property in North Carolina. Manuscript, Record Group 75, United States National Archives, Washington.

Western Turnpike

1850 Report of the Chief Emgineer [sic] of Turnpike Road: accompanied by two general maps of the route surveyed, 111 detailed maps, 10 plans of trestle bridges, records and other notebooks. Thomas J. Lemay, printers to the state, Raleigh, North Carolina.

White, Richard

1991 *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. Cambridge University Press, New York.

Whyte, Thomas

2000 Analysis of Faunal Remains from 31CE338. In Archaeological Data Recovery at the McCombs Slave Quarter Site (31CE338), Cherokee County, North Carolina. M. Scott Shumate, Patti Evans-Shumate, and Larry Kimball. Final report submitted to the Federal Highway Administration and the North Carolina Department of Transportation.

Wigginton, Eliot

1972 *The Foxfire Book*. Anchor Press, Garden City, New York.

Wilkie, Laurie

2000 *Creating Freedom: Material Culture and African American Identity at Oakley Plantation, Louisiana, 1840-1950*. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge.

Wilkins, Thurman

1986 *Cherokee Tragedy: The Ridge Family and the Decimation of a People*. University of Oklahoma Press.

Williams, Samuel (editor)

1927 *Lieutenant Henry Timberlake's Memoirs, 1756-1765*. Watauga Press, Johnson City, Tennessee.

Williams, W.G.

1838 Memoir Relative to the Cherokee Nation within the Limits of N. Carolina and Its Immediate Vicinity. February 8, 1838 letter to Colonel T.T. Hubert, United States Topographical Engineers, Topographical Bureau, Washington. In *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 4(4):202-210.

Witthoft, John

1977 Cherokee Indian Use of Potherbs. *Journal of Cherokee Studies*, II(2):250-255).

Wood, Peter

1989 The Changing Population of the colonial South: An Overview by Race and Region, 1685-1790. In *Powhatan's Mantle*, edited by Peter Wood, Gregory Waselkov, and Thomas Hatley, pages 35-103. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Wool, General John Ellis

1837 Letter to Brigadier General R. Jones, February 18, 1837. In Report from the Secretary of War, January 12, 1838, United States Senate Document 120, 25th Congress, 2nd Session. United States Congressional Serial Set, Government Printing Office, Washington D.C.

Wylie, Alison

1999 Why Should Historical Archaeologists Study Capitalism? The Logic of Question and Answer and the Challenge of Systemic Analysis. In *Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism*, Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, edited by Mark Leone and Parker Potter, Jr., pages 23-50.

2002 *Thinking from Things: Essays in the Philosophy of Archaeology*. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Yarbrough, Fay

2008 *Race and the Cherokee Nation: Sovereignty in the Nineteenth Century*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Zug, Charles, III

1986 *Turners and Burners: The Folk Potters of North Carolina*. The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.